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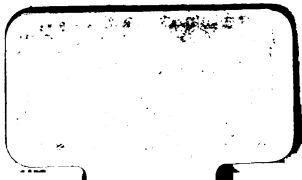


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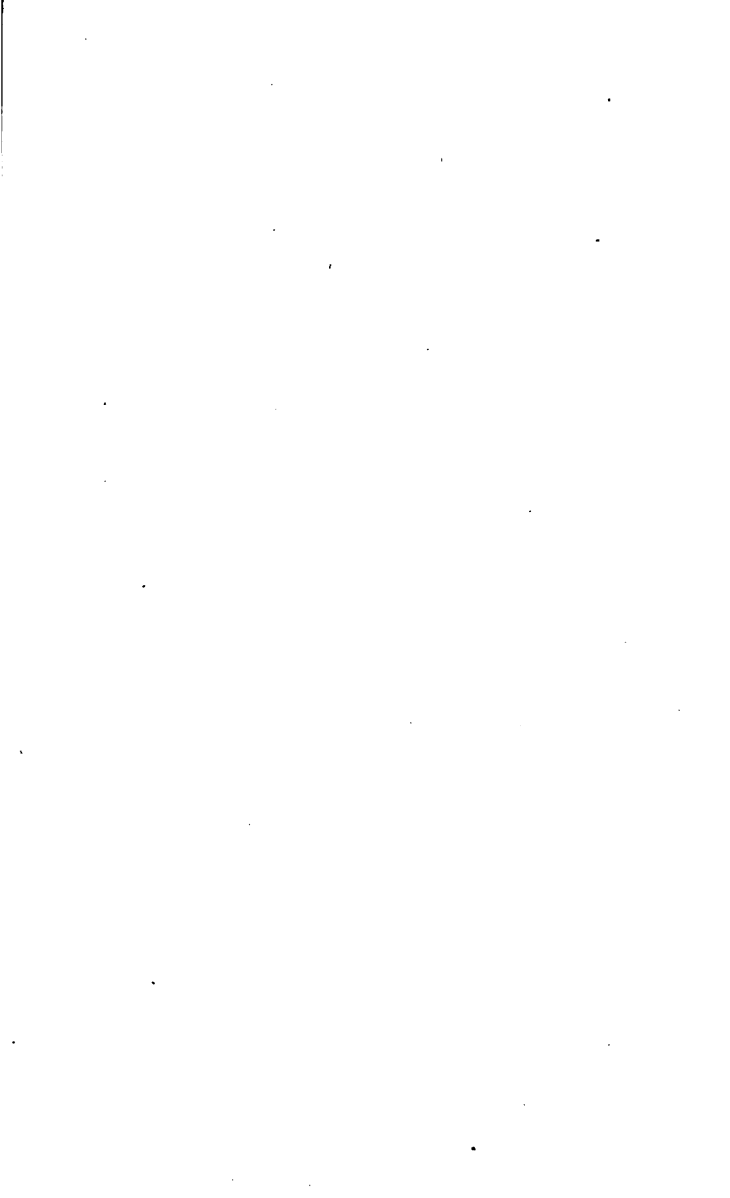
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THE
BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
CENTRAL ASIA:

WITH
A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SACRED
GEOGRAPHY, INCLUDING THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY THE

REV. N. MORREN, A. M.

WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

I CANNOT better introduce this work to the notice of English readers, than in the words of Dr. Edward Wells, in the preface to his *Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament* :

“ In the Sacred Scriptures there are distinguishable these two General Parts, a *Doctrinal* and an *Historical*. Of these, the *Doctrinal* being of infinitely the highest concern, requires therefore our far greater study and application. However, this hinders not but that we may, and that very commendably too, spend some time and thoughts on the other ; it being but reasonable to think, that what the wisdom of God has judged fit to make *part of his word*, we may judge fit to make *part of our study*.”

A well-grounded and thorough acquaintance with Scripture Geography will be found a more

needful help to the Bible scholar, than might at first be supposed. It is, moreover, a study, which, from the variety of interesting topics with which it is conversant, possesses peculiar attractions to an inquisitive mind ;—and it is therefore to be regretted, that, like most other branches of exegetical inquiry, it has not hitherto received in this country that attention which its importance demands. While the profane geography of the ancients has been illustrated by the labours of such men as *Rennell* and *Vincent*,—"the geography of the Hebrews," as a field of critical investigation, has been allowed to lie comparatively neglected. Of this there can be no evidence more conclusive than the fact, that with no lack of meagre outlines, and popular, but superficial sketches—*the only standard treatise in our language* on what may be called the *General Geography of the Bible*, is the above mentioned work of Wells. Nearly a hundred and thirty years have now elapsed since its first appearance ; and, though often reprinted, it has commonly been without emendation or addition.* During that period much

* The only exception with which I am acquainted, is the 4to Edition, by *Mr. Charles Taylor*, the author of the

additional light has been thrown on many points in Archæology, by the opening up of new Oriental sources—by the observations of travellers, the criticism of philologists, and the miscellaneous researches of the learned. Hence it has long been my conviction, that there is no greater desideratum in our theological literature, than a full and scientific system of sacred geography, adapted to the present advanced state of hermeneutical studies—such a work as the illustrious Bochart would have given to the world, had he lived in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century.^a

Among our indefatigable and erudite neigh-

“Fragments to Calmet,”—whose additions, however, are chiefly in illustration of his favourite but fanciful hypothesis, that Eden, Ararat, &c. lay towards India.

^a A great part of the Old Testament Geography of Wells, is but an abstract of the “Phaleg” and “Canaan,” of Bochart,—“the most learned man of the most learned age that has yet appeared.” It is no small proof of the esteem in which his writings are still held by competent judges, that the subject for the prize essay, proposed last year (1835) by Gesenius to the students at Halle, was *De Vitâ et Meritis Bocharti*. He was the first who profoundly investigated what it has been customary to call, since the days of Michaelis, the *Exterior* or *Foreign Geography of the Jews*—having done for it what *Reland* afterwards did for the *Domestic Geography of Palestine*.

hours, the Germans, the most recent, as well as most approved work on this subject, is the "Biblical Geography" of Rosenmüller.* The author was a son of the well-known scholiast on the New Testament, and has himself written voluminous but incomplete scholia upon the Old. After a long and laborious life, devoted to the pursuit of Oriental and Biblical learning, he died at Leipsic on the 17th September 1835. Among other literary projects, he had contemplated the embodying of the results of his study of the sacred volume into one comprehensive scheme of "Biblical Antiquities;" but he only lived to complete the portions which relate to geography and natural history—the former in five, the latter in two divisions.

It is proposed to present, in this and a subsequent volume of the Biblical Cabinet, the first

* The only systematic production of much authority, previous to the appearance of this of Rosenmüller, was the *Handbuch* (i. e. *Manual*) of Beller mann. Professor Stuart, in his *Translation of Ernesti's Institutes*, characterizes it as "a classical and excellent work, which, it is hoped, will soon be translated into English." Whatever is valuable in Beller mann, has either been retained by Rosenmüller, or is now given by me in the additional Notes.

two parts * of his "Geography"—omitting only the introductory matter, with which it has no immediate connection. I have selected the designation of "Central Asia" as a general title for these volumes, because all the countries described belong to that quarter of the world, taking the term in its most extensive latitude. To the same region also belongs the "antediluvian geography" contained in the second chapter; while chapters I. and III. may be considered as forming a useful introduction to the whole.

A translator's testimony in favour of his author, is commonly received with suspicion. Yet may I in truth affirm, that had I not been persuaded that this work is fitted to be eminently useful in the most important of all studies,—the study of the word of God,—I would have spared myself a translator's inglorious task. I am much deceived in my estimate of these volumes, if the reader shall find any thing pertaining to the Biblical Geography, Topography and History of Central Asia—the cradle of the human race—either dismissed with a cursory notice, or assert-

* They make up his first *Volume*, which consists of these two *Tomes* or divisions, but with a common Index, &c.

ed without sufficient proof.^a If the writer errs, it is in the fashion of his conscientious, thorough-going countrymen,—more in the way of excess than of defect. And this redundancy may well be forgiven, when it is found to have enriched his work with so much curious and interesting matter—a great portion of which, it is believed, will be altogether new to English readers.

If the author has been thus copious in his illustrations, there may seem the less occasion for any additions by the translator. But when it is considered, that upwards of twelve years have passed since the publication of the original, it will be seen, that many books must have appeared, both in this country and on the Continent,^b from which old opinions may be rectified or new elucidations drawn; and it is to such

^a That Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography is now the classical and standard work among the Germans, may be seen from *Fuhrmann's Handbuch der Neuesten Theologischen Literatur* (a Bibliographical Guide, brought down to the end of 1835), Part I. p. 120. A review of the present volume, by Gesenius, appeared in the *Allgem. Lit. Zeitung* of Halle, for the year 1825.

^b One of the most curious of these is that part of the Geographical work of Abulfeda, which relates to Irāk, Khuzistān, Adherbijān, &c. edited for the first time in Arabic and Latin, by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1835. The Irāk in question is

points that the translator's annotations are chiefly confined. The quantity of supplemental matter thus furnished by him, will be found to be very considerable. He is accountable for the whole of what is headed "Appendix"—for the foot-notes signed M.—and for the occasional explanatory clauses inclosed in brackets []. Yet, with all these extensive additions, the entire work will be made accessible to students, at not much more than *half* the cost of the original German.

Notwithstanding the great number of Hebrew, Arabic, and other Eastern characters which occur throughout the present volume, I trust little or nothing will be detected in the printing to offend greatly the eye of the most fastidious Orientalist. For valuable assistance in carrying it through the press, as well as for several important contributions to the notes, I have been indebted to my learned

عراق بابل Arabian Irāk, otherwise called

i. e. Babylonia; for his description of عراق اعجمي Irāk

Adjemi, or Persian Irāk (the Great Media of the ancients) had been previously published by Uylenbroek, at Leyden, in 1822. Gibbon, in his account of the expedition of the Emperor Julian into Babylonia, after giving a description of the country from the best authorities, adds in a note: "I regret much that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated."—Hist. ch. XXIV.

friend, the Rev. John Duncan, of Milton Church, Glasgow, whose attainments in the philology and literature of the East are of no common order, and are equalled only by his acumen as a metaphysician, and his worth as a Christian.

In looking forward to the future advancement of the multifarious studies connected with Biblical Archæology, I anticipate no small benefit to result from the spirited exertions of the Oriental Translation Committee :—while, at the same time, I must regret that means are not taken to have their publications better known, and more widely circulated. Among the works which have appeared under their countenance, having a special reference to the subject of these volumes, may be mentioned the translations of the *Sháh Náme* of Firdausi, by *Atkinson* ; of *Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia*, by *Shea* ; of the *Geography of Sádik Isfaháni*, by *Ouseley* ; and of the *History of Vartan and other works on Armenia*, by *Neumann*.

GREENOCK,
March 1, 1836.

[The great quantity of Arabic and other Oriental letters which occur in this work, having occasioned a great additional expense in printing it, a small increase of the price is rendered quite indispensable.]

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* The reader will observe that the Appendices to the first three Chapters immediately follow the Chapter to which they severally belong ; but as new matter came to hand while the work was going through the press, it was deemed advisable to place the Addenda, with the rest of the Appendices, at the end of the volume. Any inconvenience which might have resulted from this arrangement will be obviated by a reference to the prefixed Table of Contents, or to the copious Indices, which will be given with the Second Volume.

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BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE EARTH GENERALLY.

§ I.—THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.¹

THE idea which the ancient Hebrews had of the figure of the earth, can only be conjectured from incidental hints occasionally given in scripture. The prophet Isaiah, (ch. xl. 22) when describing the greatness of the true God, the Creator of the universe, in contrast with the impotence of idols, says, “Jehovah is enthroned high above the *circle*² of the earth, and stretcheth out the heaven as a carpet.” Eternal wisdom, personified in Prov. viii. 27, says, he was present when the Creator *drew a circle upon the vcean* to be a boundary to the earth. In like manner, Job says (ch. xxvi. 10) that God *had drawn a circle on the surface of the water, where light ends in darkness*,³ that is, at the earth’s utmost limits. Ae-

¹ The English version has, “until the day and night come to an end,” which conveys a different sense.—M.

ording to another poet, (Ps. xxiv. 2) *Jehovah hath founded the earth upon the sea, and stablished it upon the floods.* In Ps. cxxxvi. 6, also, it is said, that God *has spread out the earth above the waters.* From these passages, taken together, we obtain the notion of the earth's disk as circular,³ rising out of the water, and surrounded with the ocean,⁴ the heaven being spread over it as a canopy. Though floating free in the boundless immensity of space,⁵ yet through the Creator's might, it remains firmly fixed, without moving.⁶ See Appendix A. p. 35.

1. The Hebrew names of the earth are: 1st, אֶרֶץ, *Eretz*. This is by far the most common designation, like the corresponding Arabic term, ^{أرض} أرض which, according to Firuzabadi, in his *Kamûs*,^a (Vol. I. p. 892, Calcutta Edit.) signifies ^{أسفل قوائم الدابة وكل} أسفل قوائم الدابة وكل ^{ما أسفل} ما أسفل *the lowest part of an animal's foot, and generally, whatever is below or under.* Hence, אֶרֶץ denotes the *earth* as the lower region, in opposition to the *heavens*, שָׁמַיִם, which word means properly the *upper regions*. 2d. אֲדָמָה *Adamah*, the distinctive name

^a Rosenmüller here refers to an Arabic Lexicon, entitled *The Kamoos*, i. e. the Ocean, by a native of Firuzabad, in Persia, who was born in the year of the Hegira 817. The first complete edition appeared at Calcutta in 1817, 2 vols. fol. It consists of 60,000 different articles, and yet the author speaks of it as only an abridgment of a larger work, in 60 volumes !—M

of *earth*, as an element (from אָדָם *adam*, *to be red* or *dusky*;) yet sometimes used of the terrestrial world, Gen. iv. 1; vi. 1; vii. 1. 3d. תֵּבֵל *Tebel* is peculiar to poetic diction; perhaps, as Gesenius conjectures, from יָבֵל, *to bring forth*, thus pointing to the earth's fertility, as "the forth-bringer." See App. B. p. 35.

2. דּוּגָה, which word signifies, not a *globe*, but a *circle*, described on a plane surface, whence מְדוּגָה in Isa. xlv. 13, a *compass*.

3. This is not contradicted by the expressions, *the ends* or *borders* כְּנָפֹת of the earth; (Job xxxvii. 3; xxxviii. 13,) or the *four ends* of the earth, Isa. xi. 12; Ezek. vii. 2. Gesenius, in his Lexicon, concluded from these phrases, that the Hebrews took the earth to be of a quadrangular form; as the Greeks, in the time of Eratosthenes, compared the shape of the inhabited earth to that of an out-spread *chlamys*, or cloak.* Yet the same learned writer, in his Commentary on Isaiah, (ch. xi. 12) has retracted that opinion; for he remarks that the *four ends of the earth* are synonymous with the four quarters of the heavens, whence come the four winds. In that passage of Isaiah, the Chald. has "the four winds;" and in Rev. vii. 1, the τέσσαρες γωνίαι τῆς γῆς evidently correspond to the four winds of Dan. vii. 2.

4. The earth was likewise considered as an island by Aristotle (de Mundo. cap. 2,) and by Strabo, who says: (I. 1.) Ὅτι δὲ ἡ οἰκωμένη νῆσός ἐστι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς αἰθήσεως, καὶ τῆς πάρας ληπτέον.

* The *Chlamys* appears to have been of a wedge-like form. Cuper in his *Apotheos. Homeri*, p. 158, has given a figure of it, taken from *Ferrarius de Re Vestiaria*.—M.

5. Job xxvi. 7, *He stretcheth out the north over the void, and hangeth the earth upon nothing* על בלי־מח. The north, (i. e. the northern heavens, here used for the entire vault of the firmament,) is spread out over the air and ether. Ch. xxxviii 6: *Whereupon are its pillars sunk? who hath laid its corner-stone?* The idea that the earth hangs in empty space prevailed among the earlier Greeks, as we learn from *Lucretius*, ii. 600.

Hanc veteres Grajūm docti cecinere poetæ,
Aëris in spatio magnam pendere docentes
Tellurem, neque posse in terra sistere terram.

The last words are paraphrased by Creech: *neque terram super aliam terram, tanquam fundamentum, collocari.*^a To the same effect Ovid in his *Fasti*, vi. 269.

Terra pilæ similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
Aëre subjecto tam grave pendet onus.

6. Ps. xciii. 1 and I Chron. xvii. 30. *Firmly fixed is the earth, it moveth not.* Ps. cxix. 90. *Thou hast established the earth, that it standeth fast.* Ps. civ. 5. *He hath founded the earth on its bases, that it moveth not for ever and ever.*

^a Mason Good translates :

———— in ether pois'd, she hangs,
Unpropt by aught beneath.

See his Notes to *Lucretius* here, and at v. 535. He regards this as one of the doctrines of the earliest Idumæan or Arabian cosmology, subsequently propagated throughout Greece.—M.

§ II.—GEOGRAPHICAL BEARINGS.

THE four cardinal points, east, west, south, north, are called in scripture the four *corners* (*γωνίας*) of the earth, Rev. vii. 1; xx. 8; the four *ends* or *borders* (*כנפות*) of the earth, Isa. xi. 12; the four *ends* (*קצות*) of heaven, Jer. xlix. 36; the four *winds*¹ (*רוחות*) of heaven, 1 Chron. ix. 24. Zech. ii. 6; vi. 5. Matt. xxiv. 31. Mark xiii. 27. Job describes them (ch. xxiii. 8, 9) by the words *before* and *behind*, *right* and *left*. The origin of such phraseology is, that while in the projection of our maps, the spectator is supposed to be looking towards the *north*, among the Jews and other Orientals, the foundation of all geographical bearings is the idea of having the face directed toward *the rising sun*,² when we place the east *before* us, the west *behind* us, the south on our *right hand*, and the north on our *left*. Sometimes the sacred writers designate all the four quarters of the heavens by the two which lie opposite; thus the *east* and *west*, Isa. xlv. 6. Mal. i. 11. Ps. l. 1; lxxv. 7; exiii. 3. Matt. viii. 11; the *north* and *south*, Isa. liv. 3. Zech. viii. 7; xii. 6. Ps. lxxxix. 13. See App. C. p. 36.

1. The *east* is termed the *rising* or *place of the rising* of the sun, מוצא השמש or מזרח השמש; also what lies *before the face* פנים, (ex.

gr. (על-פני מצרים) what is *before*, or on the fore-ground קדם *Kedem*.³ Thus, in Gen. xxv. 18, it is said, the Ishmaelites dwelt from Havilah unto Shur *in the face of Egypt*,^a i. e. to the east of Egypt. Comp. Gen. xvi. 7. Exod. xv. 22. 1 Sam. xv. 7. The Israelites encamped in the desert which is *in the face of Moab* (Numb. xxi. 11); it is added, "towards the sun rising." Mount Abarim lay *in the face of Jericho*, Deut. xxxii. 49. In 1 Kings xi. 7, a hill is mentioned as being *before* Jerusalem, which from Zech. xiv. 4, is found to be the Mount of Olives. The *Fore Sea* (Ha-Yam Ha-Kadmoni) is the Dead Sea, which lies to the east of Jerusalem, Joel ii. 20. Zech. xiv. 8. Ezek. xlvi. 8. By *men of the east* are to be understood the inhabitants of Arabia and southern Chaldea, Palestine being the central point of view, Isa. ii. 6. Ezek. xxv. 4. 1 Kings iv. 30. Job i. 3. Matt. ii. 1.

2. The *west* was called by the Hebrews the *in-going of the sun*,⁴ מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ or *place of the in-going*, i. e. the setting of the sun: also *behind* or the *back ground*, אַחֲרָי, אַחֲרֵי. Thus of Machane-Dan (Dan's Camp) in Judges xviii. 12, it is said, that it lay *behind* or west of Kirjath-Jearim. On this account the Mediterranean was denominated the *Hinder Sea* (Ha-Yam Ha-Acharon,) i. e. the

^a The reader will do well to consult these passages where he will find our translators have missed the sense here given.--M.

Western, Deut. xi. 24; xxxii. 2. Joel ii. 20. Zech. xiv. 8. Yet it was often styled, by way of pre-eminence, "the sea;" and as it lay to the west, its name was sometimes employed to characterize western objects. The *wind of the sea* is the west wind, Exod. x. 19; *the side of* (i. e. towards) *the sea* is the west side, Exod. xxvii. 12; xxxviii. 12; *seaward* is westward, Gen. xxviii. 14. Exod. xxvi. 22.

3. The *south* was described, sometimes by the word *Negeb*, which properly signifies drought,⁵ a dry land; sometimes by *Darom*,⁶ i. e. the bright, sunny region; sometimes by *Teman* and *Yamin*,⁷ which both mean "lying to the right." The boundary of Manasseh went *towards the right-hand*, i. e. to the south, as far as En-Tapuach, Josh. xvii. 7. There were high places before (i. e. east of) Jerusalem, on the *right-hand* (i. e. south) of Mount Maschith, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The *right* side of the desert was the south part, 1 Sam. xxiii. 24. The south land *specially* was Egypt, Isa. xxx. 6. Jer. xiii. 19. Dan. xi. 5, 15, 29; but in Ezek. xx. 46, 47, it is Judea, from its position relative to Babylon.

4. To designate the *north*, they used the names *Zaphon*,⁸ i. e. the hidden, veiled, obscure region; and *Semol*,⁹ what lies to the left. Hobaah was situated on the *left*, i. e. the north of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15. The borders of Asher extended to Chabal, to *the left* or in a northerly

direction, Josh. xix. 27. By the north country the prophets understand some tract to the north of Palestine, such as Syria, Dan. xi. 6—8, Assyria, Zeph. ii. 13, (comp. Judith xvi. 5), Chaldæa, Jer. i. 13—15; iii. 12, 18; iv. 6, and generally in that writer.

5. It is farther to be remarked, that the Hebrews regarded what lay to the north as *higher*,¹⁰ and what lay to the south as *lower*; hence they who travelled from south to north were said to *go up*, whilst they who went from north to south were said to *go down*. Thus Judah, when he left his brethren who were at Sichem and went to Adullam, which lay to the south, is said to have *gone down* from them, Gen. xxxviii. 1. David was *brought down* to the Amalekites, whose country lay to the south of Israel, 1 Sam. xxx. 15, 16. In like manner, after receiving the account of Samuel's death, he *went down* from the neighbourhood of Engedi to the wilderness of Paran, 1 Sam. xxv. 1; and Saul *went down* from Gibeon to the wilderness of Ziph, 1 Sam. xxvi. 2, both deserts lying to the south. So it is said of those who travelled from Palestine to Egypt (which was likewise south of Judæa), that they *went down* to Egypt, Gen. xii. 10; xxvi. 2; xlv. 3; and of those who journeyed in a contrary direction, that they *went up* from Egypt, Gen. xlv. 25. Hosea reproaches Israel with *going up* to the king of Assyria for help, Hos. viii. 9. Upon

this distinction is founded the division of Syria into the *upper* and *lower*, (1 Macc. x. 69), *i. e.* the northern and southern. The *upper lands*, 1 Macc. iii. 37. 2 Macc. ix. 23, and the *upper coasts*, Acts xix. 1, are those to the north. Silas and Timothy came from Macedonia, a northern province of Greece, *down* to Corinth.¹¹ Acts xviii. 5.

1. Pliny says in his Nat. Hist. ii. 47. *Veteres quatuor omnino (ventos) servavere, per totidem mundi partes, ideo nec Homerus plures nominat, hebeti, ut mox judicatum est, ratione.*

2. A copious illustration of the passages of Scripture relative to this topic, will be found in C. B. *Michaelis* Dissert. Chorographico-Philologica de locorum differentia ratione anticæ, posticæ, dextræ, sinistræ. Halle, 1735, 4to; reprinted in *Berg's Museum Duisburgense*, Tom. I. P. 1., and (with additions) in *Pott's Sylloge Commentt.* Vol. v. p. 80.

3. The Arab. ^{قبـل} has the same signification, *e. g.* the wind blows *from before*, *i. e.* from the *east*; and ^{قبـول} properly that which comes from an *opposite direction*, or in *face* of the spectator; thence used for the *east wind*.^a

4. The Hebrews say of the sun, when he sets, that he *goes in*, *i. e.* under the horizon as into his bed-chamber. Compare the corresponding figure in Ps. xix. 5, where it is said of the rising sun, that he

^a These Arabic words, *kabbala*, *kabool*, will remind the reader of the *kiblah* of Mahometans, *i. e.* the point whither they turn their faces in prayer.—M.

comes forth radiant and joyous, as a bridegroom from his nuptial-couch. Another name of the *west* is מערב from ערב in the sense of the Arab. غَرَب to *withdraw, depart*, i. e. in reference to the sun, to *go down*.

5. נגב from נגב, in Aramæan, *to be dry*.

6. דרום is by C. B. *Michaelis* derived from דר which signifies properly to *flow, to flow down*, whence, says he, it comes to denote to *sink down*. And he thinks the countries of the south were so designated, from the notion entertained, that in that direction the earth sank or sloped down, while toward the north it rose (comp. the last paragraph of the present section.) See *Michaelis'* Dissert. Notiones Superi et Inferi, indeque adscensus et descensus in chorographiis sacris evolvens. Halle, 1735; republished in the Commentt. Theologg. of Velthuysen, Kuinoel, and Rupert, Vol. V. p. 397. But the signification to *sink down*, which *Michaelis* attaches to the root, ^דדר is destitute of proof. With greater probability, *Gesenius*, in the second edition of his smaller Lexicon, p. 186, derives דרום from the same root, דר, but in the sense of *to beam, to radiate*; hence in speaking of a country, *shined upon, sunny, bright*, (comp. צדו), opposed to *Zaphon*, the north, i. e. the dark, obscure land. See note 8.

7. Teman was the proper name of a country bordering on the south of Palestine, Jer. xlix. 7, 20.

Obad. v. 9., Ezek. xxvi. 13. Thus is ⁵ימן i. e. the

right side, still the name of Southern Arabia, commonly *Yemen*.

8. C. B. *Michaelis*, in the above-mentioned Dissert. p. 419, derives this word צפון from צפר, *to look down from a height*; and supposes that the *north* was so named, because the Hebrews believed it to be the most elevated region of the earth. Yet it seems preferable to follow the more common etymology from צפן *to hide*; and then צפון describes the country that is veiled in obscurity. Similar both in sense and sound is the Greek ζόφος; *darkness, obscurity*.

9. שמאל The Arab. ^{شمال} *the left* has the same meaning. Hence the name of Syria ^{شام} *esh-Sham* or ^{بر الشام} *Barr-esh-Sham*, i. e. *the land to the left*, so called

because to an Arab looking east it lies on the *left-hand*, i. e. on the *north*. So the Romans: Ponticæ gentes ad *septentrionem* in mare *sinistrum* jacent, a Pontico regno cognominatæ mari. *Florus*, III. 5, 1.

10. "The imaginary concave sphere of the starry firmament, seems to us to rise towards the north, and sink towards the south." Note of J. H. *Voss* on Virgil's *Georgics*, I. line 240, 241.

Mundus ut ad Scythiam, Rhipeasque arduus arces
Consurgit, premitur Libyæ devexus in austros.*

According to another ancient opinion, the earth sinks to the south, pressed down with vegetation, and

* Two poles turn round the globe, one seen to rise,
O'er Scythian hills, and one in Libyan skies.
The first sublime in heaven; the last is whirled
Below the regions of the nether world.

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION.

hanging low in the air that is rarefied by heat. *Voss*, Mythological Letters, (Ger.) Vol. ii. p. 21.

11. To speak of *going down* to the sea, or to a river, is in accordance with universal usage, which is founded upon the natural position of these objects relative to the surrounding country [Thus also to *go up* to Jerusalem, which lay on hilly ground.] In another sense, not geographical or physical, but moral, the Hebrews said, "*to go up*" to appear before a judge or king, Num. xvi. 12, 14. Deut. xxv. 7. Judges iv. 5. See the Dissert. of Michaelis before cited, p. 433, and p. 445.

§ III.—DIVISION OF THE EARTH.

THE Hebrews divided the earth into the Dry Land *היבשה*, *החרבה* and *the Sea* *הים*, Jon. i. 9. Hagg. ii. 7. Comp. Gen. i. 9, 10. The ocean was called the *Great Sea*,¹ Ps. civ. 25; and the *Great Deep*, *תהום*, Gen. vii. 11. Ps. xxxvi. 7. Amos vii. 4; into which flow all the rivers, Eccles. i. 7. (Ecclesiasticus xl. 11.) We also find *the earth*, i. e. the continent, as distinguished from the *islands*² *איים*, Esth. x. 1. Ps. xcvi. 1. But the special designation, *the Islands of the Sea*, *איים הים* seems to have included the then known isles of the Mediterranean, the coasts of Greece, Italy and Spain, and generally the western regions commercially visited by the Phœnicians, from whom the Jews chiefly received their knowledge of those countries. Gen.

x. 5. Ps. lxxii. 10. Isa. lxvi. 19. Ezek. xxvi. 18. Dan. xi. 18. See App. D. p. 39.

1. Yet this term is occasionally used of the Mediterranean, which washed the coast of Canaan, Numb. xxxiv. 6. Jos. i. 4; ix. 1; xv. 12. Ezek. xlvii. 20.

2. The word אֵי properly signifies *habitable land* from אֵי ^{אֵי} to dwell, but it came to be used of any land situated *upon* or *in* the waters, (i. e. coasts or islands.) See J. D. Michaelis Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. P. I. p. 139.

§ IV.—MOUNTAINS, VALLEYS, PLAINS, DESERTS.

1. The Hebrews had but one word הָרַר *har*, to denote a *mountain*, and a *chain or ridge of mountains*. Yet, to express the latter idea, the term is sometimes used in the plural. Thus, Gilboa, which in 1 Sam. xxxi. 8, is called a mountain, in 2 Sam. i. 21, is denominated the *mountains* of Gilboa. The *heights of the earth*, בְּמֹתֵי אֶרֶץ is another name for mountains, Amos iv. 13. Mic. i. 3. Of the three Hebrew terms for hills גִּבְעָה, עֹפֶל, שֹׁפִי, (*Gibua, Ophel, Shephi*), the last specially signifies a bare, bleak hill, in the wilderness, Jer. iv. 11; xii. 12.

2. A valley is denominated *Bikah*, בִּקְעָה, *Gai*, גַּי or גֵּיא, *Emek*, עֵמֶק, meaning thereby the level ground that lies between hills, and is commonly fertile. It is to be distinguished from the

beds of mountain-torrents, peculiar to the countries of the south. These ravines are generally dry, unless immediately after rain.^a The name נַחַל *Nachal*,¹ belongs to them, though, from the circumstance now mentioned, it is sometimes used for a brook, Gen. xxxii. 23. Ps. lxxiv. 15. A rivulet proceeding from a spring, and therefore preserving a constant flow, is נַחַל אֵיתָן, *Nachal-Ethan*, Deut. xxi. 4. Amos v. 24.

3. Wide extended plains in the East are usually liable to drought, and consequently to barrenness. Hence, the Hebrew language describes a *plain* and a *desert, unfruitful waste*, by the same word עֲרָבָה *Arabah*. The term which is in general rendered “*wilderness*,” *Midbar*,² means properly a *grazing-tract* uncultivated and destitute of wood, but fit for pasture, a heath or steppe.³ The *pastures of the wilderness* are mentioned, Ps. lxxv. 13. Joel i. 19. Luke xv. 4. See App. E. p. 40.

1. The corresponding Arabic term is وَادٍ *Wady*.

See Niebuhr's *Arabia*, p. 2. [and Burckhardt, *passim*.]

2. מִדְבָּר from דָּבַר to *lead*, to *drive*, the meaning also

^a Hence the beautiful allusion in Ps. cxxvi. 4, “Let our bondage be as short-lived as a southern torrent.” And in Job vi. 15, 17,

“My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a flood,
As the torrent of floods that pass away;
What time they wax warm they evaporate,
And when it grows hot, they are dried up in their place.”

Good's Version.---M.

of the Syriac and Arabic roots, (the latter in the second conjugation.)

3. A *desert* or *wilderness* generally is expressed by the word ישימון from ישם to be *waste* or *desolate*. Also by שממון from שם which signifies both *to be waste*, and also *to be affrighted*, a dreary wilderness being fitted to excite terror in the lonely wanderer. Thus Jeremiah (xii. 10,) speaks of *midbar-shemamah* a desert of terror. From the want of water and the aridity of the ground, a desert is styled a *land of drought*, ארץ צידה, Ps. lxiii. 2; cvii. 35, or simply *drought*, צידה, Ps. lxxviii. 17.

§ V.—THE MIDDLE OF THE EARTH.

The ancients having conceived of the earth as being of a flat circular form, (see § I.) it is not surprising that Greek and Roman writers speak of the *middle of the earth*. The Greeks regarded Delphi, where was the famous temple of Apollo, as the middle of the earth, whence that town was called *the earth's navel*.¹ The Old Testament uses the same illustration in reference to Palestine and Jerusalem. The prophet Ezekiel says, ch. v. 5. This is Jerusalem which I have placed *in the middle* of the nations, the countries being round about her.² And in ch. xxxviii. 12, he terms the Israelites the people who dwell in the *navel*³ טבור of the earth. Yet it is doubtful whether this denote the *middle* or the *highest part* of the earth. The latter interpretation is countenanced

by Judg. ix. 37, where it is said of an army, which came down from the top of the mountains, (v. 36,) that they came down from the *navel* of the land. Besides, Palestine, as a hilly country, is denominated the *heights* of the earth, Deut. xxxii. 13; and Ezekiel himself describes it as “the mountains of Israel;” see v. 8 of the chapter quoted, and ch. vi. 2; xxxiii. 28; xxxv. 12; xxxvi. 1.⁴ The notion that Jerusalem and the surrounding territory formed the centre of the earth, long prevailed among the Christians of the east.⁵

1. Strabo says, (ix. 3, 6,) that Delphi lay in the middle of all Greece;—according to some, even in the middle of the earth, whence, *καὶ ἐκάλεισαν τῆς γῆς ὀμφαλόν*. The poets had imagined a fable of which Pindar takes notice, namely, that Jupiter, in order to ascertain the middle of the earth, had sent out two eagles, the one from the west, the other from the east, and that they met upon the spot where Delphi was founded. Hence, Sophocles in *Œdipus Tyr.* v. 488, styles the oracle of Apollo there, *τὰ μεσόμφαλα γᾶς μαντεῖα*. Pindar says in the 4th Pythian Ode, No. 4, v. 8, that Delphi lies *παρ μέσον ὀμφαλὸν εὐδένδροιο ματῆρος*, i. e. of the earth. Cicero de *Divinat.* ii. 56, says:—*O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides*. See Reland’s *Palæstina*, i. 10. The old Arabian geographers took the Island *Sarandīb*, i. e. Ceylon, for the middle of the earth. Selden (de *Jure Nat. et Gent.* juxta *Discipl. Hebr.* iii. 2) has the following remarks: *Lego in Abu Walid Mahumed Ben Elshecina Histo-*

rico penes me vetusto MS. ubi de وسط الارض
medio seu umbilico telluris verba faciens, قالوا inquit
 هو وادي سرنديب حيث هبط ادم السلام عليه
fertur locum hunc esse fluvium Sarandib, quo descen-
dit Adam, super quem sit pax. Sarandib autem in-
 sula maris Orientalis, Harchend dicti, celeberrima,
 fuse describitur apud Geographum Arabem [Edrisium]
 Part 8, Clim. 3. Neque alia est a Taprobana, quae
 item *Sumatra* dici solet. Fluvius autem ille sub
 Aequinoctiali ponitur. Achmed Ben Magad in Insu-
 larum Chronographia; واما الحقيقة خطأ الاستوي
 هو الوادي وادي سرنديب *ad amussim sub linea*
Aequinoctiali habetur fluvius dictus fluvius Sarandib.^a
 Quod et Ptolemaicæ Topobranæ Geographiæ disso-
 num non est. Unde etiam Latitudines Urbium ac
 Provinciarum a jam dicto fluvio putantur, ut Achmed
 ille, quemadmodum Longitudines ab Occidentis ter-
 mino. Ita in Orientis extremo juxta nonnullos poni-
 tur Telluris Umbilicus seu Medium.

2. Theodoret remarks in his Comment. at this place,
 that God had chosen the Jews, in order through them
 to bless all nations. He had therefore assigned them
 an abode in the middle of the earth, so that all other
 people might learn from them, piety and virtue.
 ἰδῶκεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον εἰς οἰκήτηριον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ
 μέσα — — — — — ἢ ἐκεῖνοι^b τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ὠφέλειαν.

^a The more precise translation of the Arabic is: "Now the exact position of the equinoctial line is the *Wady*, or river (called) *Wady Sarandib*, or the river of Sarandib."—M.

^b i. e. The Nations.

λαύσωσι, καὶ πᾶσαν εὐσεβειαν καὶ εὐνομίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς μεταμαθῶσιν. So also Jerome in loc. "Jerusalem *in medio mundi* sitam, hic idem propheta testatur, *umbilicum* terræ eam esse demonstrans. A partibus enim Orientis cingitur plaga, quæ appellatur Asia. A partibus Occidentis, ejus quæ vocatur Europa. A meridie et austro, Libya et Africa. A Septentrione, Scythia, Armenia atque Perside, et cunctis Ponti nationibus. In medio igitur gentium posita est, ut, qui notus erat in Judæa Deus, et in Israel magnum nomen ejus, omnes in circuitu nationes illius sequerentur exempla.

3. Cicero (In Verr. Act II. Lib. iv. 48), in speaking of the grove at Enna, says: Qui locus, quod in medio est insulæ situs, *umbilicus Siciliæ* nominatur. Livy (xxxv. 18) has: *Ætoli umbilicum Græciæ* incolunt.

4. The passage in Ps. lxxiv. 12, is inappositely referred to on the present topic: "God is my king of old, who giveth help in the middle (*hereb*) of the earth," by which some expositors understand Palestine, but the words obviously imply *before all the world, in the presence of all people*.

5. Thus an ancient Christian poet, in *Tertullian*, contr. Marcion, ii. ver. 196.

Golgatha locus est, capitis calvaria quondam,
Lingua paterna prior sic illum nomine dixit.
Hic *medium terræ* est, hic est victoriæ signum.

Victorinus of Poitou, in the poem of the Cross, which some ascribe to *Cyprian*, says:—

Est locus, ex omni *medium* quem credimus orbe,
Golgatha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt.

Eutychius relates in his Arabic Annals, edited by

Poesocke, vol. ii. p. 286, that when the patriarch of Jerusalem shewed the Calif Omar the place in Jerusalem where Jacob saw the vision of the ladder,* he observed, “ this place is in *the middle of the earth*.” (وهي في وسط الارض.) In the Syriac Liturgy of the Antiochian church, the following words occur at the festival of the adoration of the Holy Cross, “ our Lord hung high upon the cross, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ and embraced the four ends (or quarters of heaven) in the *middle* of the earth.” See Steph. Borgia de Cruce Vaticana, Rom. 1779, 4to. App. p. iii.

§ VI.—THE MOUNT OF THE GODS.

IN the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, (verse 13,) the insolent presumption of the ambitious king of Babylon is thus described: Thou saidst in thy heart, “ To heaven will I ascend; above the stars of God will I exalt my throne—I will dwell on the mount of the congregation, בְּהַר מוֹעֵד *be-har-moed*, (i. e. the assembly of the gods) in the distant north.” The idea of a certain mountain being the meeting-place of the gods was widely prevalent in antiquity. The Hindoos called it

* To render this allusion intelligible, it is proper to remind the reader, that the Mahometans believe that the stone which was Jacob's pillar, was removed to Jerusalem, to the mount where stood the temple, upon which the Calif Omar, here mentioned, built the magnificent mosque still called by his name.—M.

Mēru, the Zend nations *Al-Bordsh*,¹ the Arabians *Kaf*,² the Greeks Olympus. The fabulous belief of all these nations placed this Mount in the middle of the world. But as the Indians, when they sought for Mēru in the present earth, thought of the Northern Himalayan range,³—as the Zend tribes placed their *Al-Bordsh* on the highest summit of the Caucasus^a which bounded their territories to the north—and as the Greeks imagined the seat of the gods to be on Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Thessaly, their northernmost province—so in the language put into the mouth of the king of Babylon, the Mount of the Assembly of the gods is fixed in the extreme north, probably meaning the Caucasian chain, which lay to the north of Babylonia. According to the religious books of the Zabians, *the Lord of Light* is enthroned in the north. And this well accords with the notion formerly mentioned (§ II. 5,) that the earth rises toward the north.⁴ See App. F. p. 42.

In conformity likewise with this belief, the appearances of deity are represented as coming *out of the north*. Ezekiel thus begins the description of the glory of God, which appeared to him above the cherubim, (ch. i. 4,): I beheld, and, lo! a whirlwind came *out of the north*, a great cloud rolling itself round in fire, which shone round about. This illustrates the passage in

^a Comp. Taylor's Fragments to Calmet. No. 519—522.—M.

Job xxxvii. 22, where it is said, immediately before the vision of the deity appears ; *Out of the north*^a cometh golden splendour ; before God (Eloah) goeth terrible majesty. Ezekiel (ch. xxviii. 14,) compares the king of Tyre to a cherub with expanded wings, placed amid gems of burning lustre upon the holy Mount.^b

1. ^جالبرز and ^جالبرج, also *Tireh* تيره. "The Al-Bordsh is the oldest and highest of all mountains ; upon it is the throne of Ormuzd, and the assembly of the Heavenly Spirits (Feruer)." Zend-Avesta by Kleuker II. p. 222, III. p. 67, 70, 73.

2. قاف. See D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* in the Article *Caf*, and Rasmussen's *Dissert. de Monte Caf*, Copenhagen 1811, 8vo.

3. Paulinus à S. Bartholomæo, in his *System*.

^a In our English version it is "Fair weather (in the margin *gold*,) cometh out of the north." Reiske, Scott, and Good, connect the words "out of the north" with the former verse, q. d. A wind from the north hath passed over and cleansed them (the clouds.) But Rosenmüller's translation is the simpler, and admirably corresponds with the description which follows in ch. xxxviii. of God answering Job "out of the whirlwind." The sacred writers, however, must not be understood as accommodating their language to the superstitious ideas of the heathen. Jehovah was always represented as dwelling in the heavens ; and if, (as we saw in § II. 5,) the *north* was supposed to rise toward heaven, it was not unnatural to connect the manifestations of deity with that quarter—M.

^b But is not this rather Mount Moriah ? So at least thought the author when he wrote his *Scholia* on Ezekiel.—M.

Brahman. p. 130, says : *Nec obstat, quod Sonnerat montem Meru ad polum septentrionalem constituat, quia licet sol ad polum hunc, allegorice loquendo, sedem suam habere dici possit, quod sex menses ibi ver-setur, attamen respectu Indiæ, seu globi terræque Indici, mons Meru Indiæ terræ polus septentrionalis est.*

4. Gesenius has a special disquisition on this subject in his *Comment. on Isaiah, part II. Comp. Michaelis in the Bibl. Orient. Part V. and Supplem. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 1112. Voss' Georgics of Virgil, p. 587.*

§ VII.—ITINERARY MEASURES.

THE earlier Hebrews do not seem to have aimed at much exactness in the computation of distances ; at least there are few traces of specific measures of distance in the Old Testament. The situation of a place is commonly described by its relative position to another that was better known. In Gen. xiii. 18, it is said of the grove of Mamre, that it was *at* or *by* Hebron. Mounts Gerizim and Ebal are thus pointed out in Deut. xi. 29, 30 : “ *Beyond Jordan, on the way towards the sun-setting, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champaign-country, opposite Gilgal, beside the plain of Moreh.*” Of the town of Laish, afterwards called Dan, it is said (Judg. xviii. 28,) that it lay in a bottom or valley, near Beth-Rechob. In like manner the

valley of Zephata is described as at or beside *Maresa*, (2 Chron. xiv. 10,) and *Zarpath*, *i. e.* *Sarepta* as near Sidon,* 1 Kings xvii. 9. Sometimes a place is characterized by its *geographical bearing* to another. *Ai* was beside *Bethaven* to the east, before *Bethel*, Josh. vii. 2. *Timnath-Serach* lay on *Mount Ephraim*, to the north of the hill of *Gaash*, Josh. xxiv. 30. The *Mount of Olives* was situated to the east of *Jerusalem*, Zech. xiv. 4. Similar to this is the method by which the position of the town of *Shiloh* is laid down in Judg. xxi. 19—viz. “it lay north of *Bethel*, towards the east, (*i. e.* to the N.E.,) on the way that goeth up from *Bethel* to *Sichem*, and on the south of *Lebonah*.” If we knew the situation of the three towns mentioned, *Bethel*, *Sichem* and *Lebonah*, the site of *Shiloh* might be conjectured with tolerable accuracy, but its precise distance from any one of these places the description leaves in uncertainty.

Yet there are two expressions in the Old Testament which do aid us somewhat in forming a conception of topographical distances.

1st. *Kibrath-Haaretz*,¹ *i. e.* a piece of ground or of way. In Gen. xxxv. 16, we read: they set out from *Bethel*, and there was but *a piece of way* to come to *Ephrath* when *Rachel* died. *Jacob* uses the same expression in recounting the incident to *Joseph*, Gen. xlviii. 7. So in 2 Kings

* In the English translation “which belongeth to *Zidon*.”—M.

v. 19, when Naaman had departed from Elisha, *a piece of way*, Gehazi ran after him.² It is possible that, in all these cases, a short but indeterminate distance is intended. Yet since the most ancient Greek translators have preserved the former of these Hebrew words, (though in the Aramæan form, *Chabratha*,^a) we may conclude that in their day it was the name of a definite measure of length.³ In one of the places cited (Gen. xlviii. 7,) they add, by way of explanation, the Greek word *Hippodromos*,^b *a Horse-course*, *i. e.* the distance a horse should be made to go daily for exercise, probably three or four miles. By the same phrase⁴ the Arabian geographers define a certain specific distance, which seems to amount to about an Arabic *parasang*,⁵ *i. e.* a common French league, (25 of which make up a degree of the equator,) consisting of 2400 geometrical paces.

2nd. *Derech-ha-yom*, a day's journey. Jacob put a space of three days' journey between his own flocks and those of Laban, Gen. xxx. 36. The latter pursued Jacob out of Haran the space of seven days' journey, and overtook him on Mount Gilead, Gen. xxxi. 23. The Israelites sought permission of Pharaoh to go the length of three days' journey into the wilderness, Exod. v. 3; viii. 27. It is said in Num. xi. 31, that

^a Χαβραθὰ, כַּבְרָתָא.

^b κατὰ τὸν ἵπποδρόμον, κ. τ. λ.

the quails lay round the camp, here a day's journey and there a day's journey.⁶ Moses reckoned eleven days' journey from Mount Horeb to the plains of Moab through Mount Seir, Deut. i. 2. According to Jonah iii. 3, the circuit of Nineveh was three days' journey. This mode of describing distances is also found in Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Persian writers. It needs scarcely be remarked that in itself (if strictly taken,) it would be a very vague and fluctuating measurement; the length of a day's journey depending so much on the peculiar circumstances under which each pedestrian travels. But the ancient writers seem to have fixed on the *average* of what was usually performed by foot-travellers. Herodotus in one place says, a day's journey amounts to 200 stadia,⁷ in another to 150⁸; the former is equal to 4 German miles, the latter to $3\frac{1}{2}$.^a Marinus takes 172 stadia = about $3\frac{3}{10}$ German miles; Procopius 210 = $4\frac{1}{10}$ German miles for a day's journey. According to Vegetius, 20 Roman miles, that is 160 stadia, were reckoned for a day's journey, which is somewhat less than 7 leagues. In the Arabian geographers the length of a day's journey is equally variable; yet, among them, as in the East at the present day, it may be stated generally at about

* An equatorial degree contains 15 German miles, and 69.5 English, so that one German mile is more than four English.—M.

seven leagues, which is probably not far from the distance intended by that expression in scripture.¹⁰ See Appendix, G. p. 44.

In the New Testament we find three itinerary measures introduced.

1st. The *stadium*. The hamlet of Emmaus was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia, Luke xxiv. 13. The Evangelist John relates (ch. vi. 19) that when the disciples had rowed about twenty-five or thirty stadia they saw Jesus walking on the water. The same writer (ch. xi. 18) speaks of Bethany as lying near Jerusalem, about fifteen stadia distant. In Rev. xiv. 20, it is said that blood flowed out of the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles, to the space of 1600 stadia; and in ch. xxi. 16, the size of the new Jerusalem is described as 12,000 stadia square, that is 48,000 in circuit.* The Greek word *stadios* or *stadion* properly signifies a race-course, where runners contend for a prize. In this sense it occurs in 1 Cor. ix. 24, where Luther has translated it by *schracken*, the lists. [The English version by "a race."] It came subsequently to be used for a measure of distance corresponding to the ordinary length of the race-course; and when by the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek language became diffused throughout the east, this became a cur-

* In all these passages the English version has "furlongs."—M.

rent expression. The Olympic stadium,¹¹ which was the most common, contained 125 geometrical or double paces (reckoning the pace at five feet), *i. e.* 600 Greek or 625 Roman feet. [It was equal to 185.37 French metres.]

2nd. The *mile*¹² is only once mentioned in the New Testament, viz. where Christ says, Matt. v. 41, if any one compel thee to go one mile, go with him two. The *mile* is originally (as its derivation from *mille*, a thousand, implies,¹³) a Roman measure of 1000 geometrical paces, or eight stadia, *i. e.* 125 paces $\times 8 = 1000$. A Roman mile comprised the sixtieth part of a degree; three were equal to about a league.

3rd. The *Sabbath day's journey*¹⁴ is mentioned Acts i. 12. "The Mount of Olives was from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey." This was as far as it was allowable to travel from home, on the seventh day. From the injunction in Exod. xvi. 29, where the Israelites are forbidden to leave the camp to gather manna upon the Sabbath, a law was derived, that no one should on that day depart farther from the place of his abode than the space which intervened between the extremity of the Israelitish camp and the tabernacle which stood in its centre. This was reckoned to be about 1000 ells, which being doubled,¹⁵ (to make allowance for the return home) amounted to much the same as the Roman mile, or 1000 geometrical paces.¹⁶ But,

indeed, an exact estimate of the length of a Sabbath day's journey seems never to have been taken, for the Jewish doctors speak of a great and a little and a middle Sabbath day's journey.¹⁷ The distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem is called by Josephus, in one place, five¹⁸ stadia, in another¹⁹ six ; the former being equal to 625 geometrical paces, the latter to 750, but both are below the estimate above given of 2000 ells. In allusion to the short distance a Jew was permitted to travel on the seventh day, Christ says, "pray ye that your flight be not in winter nor on the Sabbath-day."

1. כְּבֵדָה הָאָרֶץ. The first of these words signifies *largeness*, *width*, from a root not found in scripture כָּבַד = כִּבֵּד to be large. For other less probable etymologies, see the author's Scholia on Gen. xxxv. 16, 3d Edit. p. 532.

2. Luther translates the above Hebrew words by "*feldweg*," respecting which Adelung remarks, that it is now obsolete, but was equivalent to a *stadium*. Ger. Dict. Part II. p. 104.

3. Gesenius has correctly observed, in the second edition of his Lexicon, p. 341, that the circumstance of the indefinite expressions *breadth*, *length* being used for *definite* measures, should excite no surprise, for it is often so in the names of weights, measures, periods of time, &c. Thus סֵאווֹ *a measure*, is also the name of a specific measure of corn ; שָׁקֶל *a weight*,

is also the name of a determinate weight, the shekel; ימים days, *i. e. several days, q. d. a long time*, is also used for a year. So the Chald. ערן *a long time*, denotes a year; שעה *a short time*, an hour.^a The same is the case with the German word *mass*, [a measure generally, and specially a pot or quart.]

4. شوط الفرس. J. B. Köhler, in the Addenda

to his edition of Abulfeda's *Tabula Syriæ*, defines this a *post-stage*, quantum currere potest una vice equus, donec defatigetur. Upon which Michaelis animadverts in his *Observations on Abulfeda's Egypt*, p. 4: Non est, quantum currere potest; miser enim equus sit, qui non possit uno cursu ac sine defatigatione molesta, quatuor aut quinque milliaria Germanica absolvere; sed: quantum currere debet, ne stando corrumpatur, pedumque agilitatem amittat.

5. فرسنگ, is also written in Persian *Farsenk*. Parasanga, id est leuca Persica, quam Turcice vocant Agaatsji, tantam notat longitudinem, vel loci distantiam ut viginti duæ cum dimidia uni respondeant cœlesti gradui. *Kaempfer* in *Amœnitt. Exott.* p. 727. *Chardin* says (*Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 177, Edit of Langlès); The Persian league is called *fars-seng*, a term which signifies *stone of Persia*; Herodotus and other Greek authors write *parasanga*, which is not materially different, the pronunciation of f and p being so similar, that the one is often taken for the other. It appears, from the signification of

^a Thus the Greek ἡρα, time, an hour.

this word, that anciently the leagues were marked by large high stones, both in the east and west. It is well known that in Latin, the word *lapis*, a stone, is used for a league—*ad primum vel secundum lapidem*. Herodotus says the parasang is of thirty stadia. That would amount to two French leagues of 12,000 feet each. The Persians make it of 6000 paces or *endāzé*, a word which signifies a throw or cast, *jet, comme pour dire, que le pas est le jet du corps*." Langlès, in his note upon this passage, derives parasang from the Sanscrit, where *parra* signifies a stone, and *sanga* a row or series, q. d. a succession of stones at regular distances; following in this, Paulinus à S. Barthol. in his Dissert. de Antiq. et Affinitat Ling. Sendicæ, Samsirdamicæ et Germanicæ, p. 42. In the Bundehesch (Zend Avesta, III. 26) we find it said: "The farsang is the distance at which a far-sighted man perceives a camel, and can distinguish whether it is white or black." In the Syriac church version of 2 Kings v. 19, for the Heb. **בְּרִית דְּתַרְסָן** there is **ܐܡܫܐ ܕܥܠܐ** a parasang of land or way. Comp. Gravius' Preface to Abulfeda's Chorasmicæ et Mawaralnahrae Descriptio, and J. M. Hartmann's Prolegomena to the "Africa" of Edrisi, p. 114, Michaelis Supplem. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 1208.

6. **דָּרֶךְ דְּיָוִם**. The passage in 1 Kings xix. 8 must not be taken into account here; for when it is said that the prophet took *forty days* and *forty nights* in going from Beersheba to Mount Horeb, (a distance of only eight or nine days' journey), the number *forty* must be understood *indefinitely* for a round number,

as is the case elsewhere, e. g. Gen. xvii. 17 ; viii. 6. Ezek. iv. 6.^a

7. IV. 101. where, in speaking of the extent of the country inhabited by the Scythians, he says: Καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς μεσόγαιαν εἰς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνοὺς τοὺς κατ'ὑπερθε Σκυθίων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι.

8. V. 53. Πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἰκάνσῃ διεξιούσι. Reland is therefore wrong in saying (Palest. p. 400.) Herodotus iter diei vocat ducenta stadia et quinquaginta.

9. Ptolem. II. 11. Procop. on the Vandal War I. 1. Μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς εἰς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίους. Comp. Procop. on the Goth. War, I. 14 ; II. 10. Vegetius de Re Milit. I. 9.

10. Hartmann's Prolegom. to Edrisi's Africa, p. cxvi. cxviii. A day's journey, says Tavernier, is in the east very unequal, sometimes of six, sometimes of ten, even of twelve leagues, according as water is met with, which is not always at the expected place. Kämpfer in his Amœnitt. Exot. p. 727, says :

Dieta, indigenis (Persiæ) ^{منزل} Mensil appellata,

tantum complectitur viae spatium, quantum uno die viator absolvit ; diætis enim peregrinationes et urbium distantias metiuntur, relicto Parasangarum usu geographis et curiosis. Sunt autem diætæ omnes hand

^a Among the Persians, the number *forty* seems to be used in a similar manner. The ruins of a palace at Persepolis are called *Tshihal-Menâr*, i. e. the Forty Pillars ; and the palace at Ispehan, *Tshihal-Sutoon*, a name of like import.—See Ker Porter's Travels.—M.

paris longitudinis, sed incertis stationum et hospitiorum, quibus in viis pernoctari potest, distantis metiuntur. Observavi tamen, nunquam intra quatuor, vel ultra octo parasangas diætam contrahi vel extendi, ut, qui intra mensuram illam substiterit, dicatur tantum dimidiam diætam, qui ultra progressus sit, unam cum dimidia absolvisse.

11. Plinii Hist. Nat. II. 23. Stadium centum viginti quinque nostros efficit passus, hoc est, pedes sexcentos viginti quinque. *Censorinus* de die Nat. 13, notices the different lengths of the stadium: Stadium in hac mundi mensura id potissimum intelligendum est, quod Italicum vocant, pedum DCXXV; nam sunt præterea et alia longitudine discrepantia ut Olympicum, quod est pedum D; item Pythicum pedum M. In the Talmud a stadium is called ריש and ריש, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of which were equal to a Roman mile. Comp. Reland's Palaest. p. 400.

12. *Μίλιον*, in the Talmud מילין, מיל. Reland's Palaest. p. 397.

13. Cicero sometimes uses *Milliare*, as in the Letters to Atticus VI. 1. Accepi tuas literas ad quintum milliare Laodiceæ. But he commonly has mille passus or mille passuum, which, in the Itineraries of Antoninus, Jerusalem, &c. stands abbreviated M. P.

14. Ὅδὸς σαββάτου. In the Talmud, חזום השבת *literally* the bounds of the Sabbath. Buxtorf's Lex. Chald. p. 2582.

15. In the Targum or Chald. Paraphrase on Ruth i. 16, it is said, לתפקדנא למטר שביא ויומי טבא : “ We are commanded to observe the Sabbaths and holidays, so

that we never travel above 2000 ells." The rules of the Jewish doctors regarding a Sabbath day's journey, are contained in the Talmudic tract Erubhin, (מסכת עירובין) the second in the second part of the Mishnah. The 4th section of chap. v. enjoins, that the 2000 ells be measured in no other way than with a rope or cord 50 ells long, to be held by those who measure, neither high nor low, but at the region of the heart. If they come to a valley or a ruinous wall, they are not to take into account the depth of the one nor the height of the other, but are to measure straight across the valley, unless it be more than fifty ells wide, &c. See more in Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. iii. 9; G. E. Voigt's (or J. Frischmuth's) Dissert. de Itinere Sabbathi, Jena 1670, and M. Walther's Dissert. on the same subject. Both will be found in the Thesaur. Theolog. Philolog., Amster. 1702, p. 417, 423.

16. In proof of this, Œcumenius, in his Comment. on Acts i. 12, says, Μίλιον ἐν ἡ τοῦ Σαββάτου ὁδός, ὡς φησιν Ὁριγένης, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Στροματῶν, δισχιλίων πηχῶν ὑπῆρχεν καὶ μάλλον ἢ ἁγία σκηνή, καὶ κιβωτὸς τοσοῦτον διάστημα προελάμβανε τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοσοῦτου διαστήματος ἐσκήνουν· ὃ διάστημα ἐξῆν τοῖς προσκηνοῦσι τὴν ἁγίαν σκηνὴν βαδίζειν ἐν σαββάτῳ. And Jerome says, in his 151st Letter (to Algasia): Præterea quia jussum est, ut diebus Sabbatorum sedeat unusquisque in domo sua, et non egrediatur, neque ambulet de loco, in quo habitat; si quando eos (Judæos) juxta literam cœperimus arctare, ut non jaceant, non ambulent, non stent, sed tantum sedeant, si velint præcepta servare; solent respondere et dicere: Rab

Akiba, et Simeon, et Hillel, magistri nostri, tradiderunt nobis, ut *bis mille pedes* ambulemus in Sabbato.

17. The larger included 2800 ells, the smaller 1800. See the Gloss to Maimonides' Tract on the Sabbath, in Walther's work, above referred to (in note 15,) p. 426. The *middle* must have been of the usual estimate of 2000 ells.

18. Antiq. xx. 8, 9. Πρὸς ὅρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἑλαιῶν ἔρχεσθαι, ὃ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρυσκεῖμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε. Schulz, in his Compend. Archæol. Heb. p. 110, conjectures that Josephus reckons according to the stadium of Alexandria, five of which comprised 2000 Egyptian ells. But Chrysostom, instead of πέντε in this place reads ἑπτὰ; for in his Comment. on Acts i. 12, he says: Ἰστυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἰώσηπος· ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων στάδια ἑπτὰ. And says Voigt, in the Dissert. referred to above in note 15, § 11, p. 422, “hanc lectionem M. S. antiquissimum, quod ex bibliotheca inclutæ Reip. Vratislaviensis utendum petiit Excellentiss. Bossius, suo confirmat suffragio, ubi pro πέντε leguntur ἑπτὰ.” In this case the Syr. translator would agree with Josephus, for in Acts i. 12, he has ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܫܬܐ ܡܝܠܐ “about seven stadia.”

19. Jew. War, V. xi. 3. Προσετέτακτο δὲ αὐτοῖς, ἕξ ἀπέχοντας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίου στρατοπεδεύσασθαι κατὰ τὸν Ἑλαιῶν καλούμενον ὅρος.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

A. *The Figure of the Earth*, § I.—Bellermann, in his *Biblical Geography* (*Handbuch d. Bibl. Liter.* II. p. 143,) substantially agrees with Rosenmüller, who has indeed borrowed from him some of the leading ideas. Winer, however, thinks that nothing definite can be made out from the passages appealed to. See his *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. Art. *Erde*. It is certainly rather inconclusive to infer the popular notions of the earth's figure from what may have been nothing more than the bold imagery of poets. Some have supposed, that so long as the Hebrews were a nomadic race, they conceived of the earth as resembling a round tent, with the expanse of the firmament as its covering. But that in later times, when domiciled in Palestine, they spoke of it as a splendid palace resting upon its many pillars. Comp. Ps. lxxv. 3; civ. 5. Prov. viii. 25—29. 2. Sam. xxii. 3. The Greek and Roman writers also vary in their representations on this point, describing the earth sometimes as an oblong square, sometimes as a cube, sometimes as a pyramid, sometimes as a *chlamys* or outspread mantle.

B. *Names of the Earth*, § I. Note 1.—To complete the nomenclature, we add the following from the author's work on *Biblical Mineralogy*, p. 3.

1. "Earth as an element is called *Adamah*, *Erets*, or *Aphar*. The first two are also used for the earth as a whole. *Adamah*, i. e. red earth, often denotes arable land. Gen. iv. 2. Isa. i. 7; xxx. 23. *Aphar* is dry dust, as Num. xxiii. 10, where

it is *an emblem* for a numerous people. Man was made of earthy dust, Gen. ii. 7, to which he returns; iii. 19. Job x. 9. Eccles. xii. 7. *Clods of earth* are called. 1st. *Gush*. Job. vii. 5, (descriptive of the colour and scurf of a leper's skin). 2d. *Regabim*. Job. xxi. 33: xxxviii. 38. 3d. *Megrephat*. Joel i. 17. Fine flying dust is, *Abak*, Deut. xxviii. 24. Nah. i. 3. Cant. iii. 6. An atom of dust, *Shachak*. Isa. xl. 15."

C. *Geographical Bearings*, § II.—These expressions *before*, *behind*, *right*, *left*, are also used in the same sense in reference to the construction and services of the tabernacle and temple. Exod. xxvi. 9. 1 Kings vi. 3. Ezek. xlvii. 1, &c. As to *Kodem*, a word of very extensive import, see the speculations of Taylor in his *Fragments to Calmet*, Nos. 526, 660. He thinks its verbal meaning is *ancient*, *primary*, *the origin*, and geographically signifies the *primary provinces*, that where mankind was first settled.

The same fundamental idea as to the method of defining the four quarters of the heavens seems to have prevailed among the Celts. Rosenmüller quotes from an anonymous Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, (Dubl. 1772 :) "In Irish, *oirtheas*, *before*, is a name for the east; *iar*, *behind*, the west; *deas*, *the right hand*, the south; and from *thuaidh*, *the left hand*, comes *tuath*, the north pole." For the following elucidation of this subject, as regards the Scottish Gaelic, I am indebted to an eminent living Celtic scholar.

"The terms used in Gaelic for the Cardinal Points, are the following,—

An Ear, or, in common speech,	" <i>an àird</i> " <i>an ear</i> ,"	the East.
An Iar, or,	" <i>an àird</i> " <i>an iar</i> ,"	the West.
Deas, or,	" <i>an àirde deas</i> ,"	the South.
Tuath, or,	" <i>an àirde tuath</i> ,"	the North.

The words at the left side, are undoubtedly the primitive designating words; *àirde*, signifies a quarter, or region, *an àirde Tuath*, is literally, "The region of the north,"—and so of the others. The Irish dialect uses the same terms. In more ancient writings and forms of speech, I am not aware that any words different from those now in use, were em-

ployed, except that instead of *ear*, or *an ear* for the East, there is frequently found *oir*, and sometimes *soir*, both in the Scottish and Irish dialect. I am not prepared to say that, in the Scottish dialect, or, so far as I know, in the Irish, of which I have read a good deal, the East is ever directly used as signifying *before*—or the west, as *directly* signifying *behind*—that is, the words themselves, used to convey that meaning. *Iar*, the west, indeed, is used as a preposition, signifying *after*, the very favourite Irish word; and in Gaelic, I am quite prepared to say, that *iar*, now written “*air*” did originally signify *after*; especially in certain conformations of verbs, e. g. “*deanamh*,” is the present participle of the verb, *Dean* to do, “*air deanamh*, is equivalent to the perfect participle. *Tha mi a’ deanamh*—I am doing; “*Tha mi air deanamh*,” I have done (it) literally, “I am *after* doing it, i. e. I have finished it. *Iar*, also is still used in Scotch Gaelic, as a prefix—clearly and distinctly signifying *after*, as *iar-bleodhan*, an *after milking*. I cannot remember any way in which *ear*, *oir*, or *soir*, signifies *before*. Were I to indulge in conjecture, I could easily discover compound words, in which the syllable *ear*, does signify *before*, as *earlas*,* an *earnest* or prelude. *Deas* and *Tuath*, are of larger and more frequent use, in the Gaelic language—*Deas*, signifies *the right*, but equally with the right (hand)—it signifies, prosperous, fortunate, favourable, ready, prepared, right too, in the *moral* signification of the term. *Tuath* is not so directly used, in its simple form, to signify the opposite of *deas*; but with the additional termination *al*, *Tuathal*, it signifies wrong, unfortunate, unlucky, unhappy. I am not aware that *Tuath* is used expressly with hand, to signify the *left* hand; but we do certainly say *Fear-tuathal*, a *wrong*, unlucky, *man*, and in some districts of the Highlands, they say, an *lāmh thuathal*, the left hand. But, *untowardness* is the general idea conveyed by *Tuathal*, and *Deas*, has certainly every thing good and favourable and *right* associated with it. I feel warranted to say, that *oir* does enter into the composition of Gaelic words, implying excellence, facility, pleasantness: and *iar* denoting the contrary. *Oir*—

* In Scotch, *aries*, the pledge taken by servants on being engaged.—M.

dheiro, is excellent,—*iargalt*, is fierce, morose, gloomy, *almost savage*. That the south signifies the right, the north the left, in Gaelic and in Irish, is quite certain ; but that the east signifies before, and the west behind, I do not hold to be quite so clear, except in the indirect senses which I have alluded to.”

We find the same general notions pervading the nations of the east. “The Hindus,” says Wilford, “have peculiar names for the four cardinal points, derived from their respective situations, with regard to a man looking toward the rising sun, which is the most proper time to worship him. The east, from that circumstance, is called *Para*, and *Púrva*, or *before* ; the West, *Apara*, and *Pas’chima*, or *behind*. The South being then to the right, is called *Daschin’a*, and the North, *Váma* or the *left*. From *Daeshin’a*, comes obviously the *Greek dexion* : the *Latin dexter dexterum*, is from *dacsh-tír*, or *dacshatíram* towards the right. *Pas’chima* is obviously a derivative form, the root of which, *pus’cha*, is no longer to be found in *Sanscrit*, unless in other irregular forms, as *pashchát* ; but it is still in use in the spoken dialects, in which it is pronounced *picha*, and from *pas’cha* is derived the *Latin post*, or behind ; and *postumus* for *postimus*, answers to *pas’chima* or *pas’chum* in the spoken dialects. *Para* is the *English* word *fore* ; thus we say, a fairy from the *Persian Peri*. It is also pronounced *pra*, as in *pra-páda* ; the fore-foot, or fore part of the foot, including the *Tarsus* and *Metatarsus* ; and from it is derived the *Latin præ*, and the *Greek pro*. From this circumstance, there arose a peculiar division of the old continent ; the mid-land countries are called *Mad’hyama*, or in the middle ; those toward the east *Para*, but more generally *Púrva* ; *Para* is used oftener as an adjective noun, as *Para-gandica*, the Eastern *Gan’dica*. The countries towards the west are denominat-
ed *Apara*, *Apar*—Instead of *para* and *purra*, the word *much’a*, face or front, is often used, particularly in the spoken dialects, and sometimes with the augmentative particle *su* ; and in the dialect of *Bengal*, *sho* ; thus they say *sho muc’h*, right in front, due east. Though equally grammatical, yet it is not usual to say, *Su-para*, *Su-purva*, *Sho-para*, or *Sho-purva*, in that sense. It seems, however, that it was once in use ; for, in Scripture

we have *Parvaim* and *Se-parvaim*, or *Se-pharvaim*, the name of a country the situation of which is by no means well ascertained ; yet it is probable that it was near the mountains of *Se-phar*, or *Se-para*, towards the east, according to Scripture ; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that *Parvaim*, *Se-pharvaim*, with the mountains of *Se-phar*, belong to the same country, which I take to be *India*, called by the *Copts*, *Sopheir*, and by no means to be confounded with *Ophir*. *India* is also called by *Hesychius* and *Josephus*, *Su-phir*, or *Su-pheir* ; and *So-phara*, by *Procopius*.^a—The *Jews* and the *Arabians*, to this day, call the south *Yaman*, *Yamin*, and *Jamin*, which imply the right. The *Hindoos* call the south also *Yámya* or *Jámya*, and *Yámasya*, because *Yama* (*Pluto*) called also *Yaman*, is the guardian of that quarter ; and when *Pliny*^b says, that the *Hindus* called the South *Dramasa*, it should be *Diamasa*, from *Jamasya*, as *Diamuna* for *Jamuná*, the river *Jumna*. We have seen that *dexion* in Greek, and *dexter dexterum* in Latin, are derived from the Sanscrit *dachshin'a*, *dacsha-tír*, and *dacsha-tíram* ; and it is not improbable but that *sinister sinistrum sinisterium*, or the left in Latin, and *aristeros aristeron* in Greek, are equally derived from the Sanscrit *senis-tír*, or *senis-tíram*, and *A'rasya-tíram*, or *A'ras-tíram*, that is to say, *Saturn's* quarter, in the same manner that the *Hindus* say *Yama's*, quarter for the south ; for *Senih* or *A'rah*, resided in the north. *Jupiter* gave him that quarter for his residence, and made him guardian of it. *Saturn*, according to *Cicero* and *Plutarch*, was peculiarly worshipped by the nations in the western parts of *Europe*, and in the north ; though the latter says, that in process of time, his worship began gradually to decline there. He was born in the left, and perished in the right. The *Greeks* and *Romans* considered the south as on the right, and the north on the left.”—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 275, 278, 281.

D. *Division of the Earth*, § III. Captain *Wilford*, in speaking of Indian Geography, says :—“ Another division of the world, is into a mainland and islands, which is also that of

^a *Procopius* in *Schol. ad Lib. 3, Regum*.

^b *Lib. VI. c. xix.*

Scripture, in which the isles of the nations, or *Jis-hágoim*, are often mentioned. This division has also been admitted by *Musulmans*, who call them *Jezair-alomam*. Commentators understand by them, not only the islands, but also the peninsulas in the western parts of the old continent; for in Sanscrit, *dwipa* implies only a country with waters on both sides; so that, like *Jazirah* in Arabic, they may signify either islands or peninsulas; *dwipa* and *Jazirah*, are often used to signify countries bordering upon the sea only. By the isles of nations, the islands, peninsulas, and maritime countries in the west, and particularly in *Europe*, are understood; it is even so with the *Pauránics*, who are very little acquainted with the eastern part of the old continent, even to a surprising degree, and much less than we could reasonably suppose.”—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 284.

E. *Description of a Desert.*^a See § V.—“To paint to himself these deserts, the reader must imagine a sky almost perpetually inflamed, and without clouds; immense and boundless plains, without houses, trees, rivulets, or hills, where the eye frequently meets nothing but an extensive and uniform horizon like the sea, though in some places the ground is uneven and stony. Almost invariably naked on every side, the earth presents nothing but a few wild plants thinly scattered, and thickets whose solitude is rarely disturbed but by antelopes, hares, locusts, and rats. Such is the nature of nearly the whole country, which extends six hundred leagues in length, and three hundred in breadth, and stretches from Aleppo to the Arabian sea, and from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. It must not, however, be imagined that the soil, in so great an extent, is every where the same; it varies considerably in different places. On the frontiers of Syria, for example, the earth is in general fat and cultivable, nay even fruitful. It is the same also on the banks of the Euphrates, but in the internal parts of the country, and towards the south, it becomes white and chalky, as in the parallel of Damascus; rocky as in the Tih, *i. e.* in the desert of Sinai, and the Hedjaz, a district of

^a On account of the length of this extract from Volney, I have transferred it hither from Rosenmuller's Notes to § V.—M.

Arabia on the Red Sea, and a pure sand as to the eastward of the Yemen. This variety in the qualities of the soil is productive of some minute differences in the condition of the Bedouins. For instance, in the more sterile countries, that is those which produce but few plants, the tribes are feeble and very distant; which is the case in the desert of Suez, that of the Red Sea, and the interior of the Great Desert called the Najd. When the soil is more fruitful, as between Damascus and the Euphrates, the tribes are more numerous and less remote from each other; and lastly, in the cultivated districts, such as the pachalics of Aleppo, the Hauran, and the neighbourhood of Gaza, the camps are frequent and contiguous. In the former instances the Bedouins are purely shepherds, and subsist only on the produce of their herds, and on a few dates and flesh meat, which they eat either fresh or dried in the sun and reduced to a powder. In the latter they sow some land, and add cheese, barley, and even rice to their flesh and milk meats. If we examine the causes of the sterility and uncultivated state of the desert, we shall find it is principally to be attributed to the absence of fountains and rivers, and in general to the want of water. This want of water itself is occasioned by the nature of the country, which being flat and destitute of mountains, the clouds glide over its heated surface, as I have already remarked is the case with Egypt. They never rest there but in winter, when the coldness of the atmosphere hinders them from rising, and dissolves them into rain. The nakedness of this country is also another cause of drought, since the air is for that reason more easily heated, and compels the clouds to rise. It is probable that a change of climate might be effected, if the whole desert were planted with trees, as for example with pine trees."

With this graphic sketch, which is by Volney, (*Travels, &c.* Vol. I. p. 383, Eng. Transl.) the reader may compare the more elaborate and finished picture given by Sir Walter Scott in the *Tales of the Crusaders*, ("The Talisman," chap. I.) which eastern travellers acknowledge to be the best description of a desert that has ever been written. See also the journeys of Morier, Ker

Porter, Burnes, &c. and the spirited delineation of desert scenery contained in the "Kuzzilbash" and other writings of Fraser.

F. *The Mount of the Gods*, § VI.—Comp. Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. article *Berg des Stifts*. "In the book *Kārmā-Vipakā*, it is said, that the heavens of Vishnu, Bramha, and Shiva, are upon the three summits of the mountain *Su-Meru*, and at the foot of these are the heavens of one-and-twenty other gods." Ward's *View of the Hindoos*, Vol. I. p. 13, note. "The Mount *Maha-Meru*, that is the Great *Meru*," says Father Louchet (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tom IX. p. 41,) "is not improbably the Mount *Meros* of the Greeks, where *Bacchus* was born and where the court of the gods was held." The following extracts on this head are from papers communicated by Captain Wilford to the Asiatic Society, and published in their *Researches*. The reader may compare *La Croze Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, *Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary*, article *Mēru*, &c.

"The Hindoos generally consider this spot as the abode of the gods, but by no means as the place in which the primogenitors of mankind were created. As it is written in the *Purānas*, that on Mount *Mēru* there is an eternal day, for the space of fourteen degrees round *Su-meru*, and, of course, an eternal night for the same space on the opposite side; the Hindoos have been forced to suppose that *Su-meru* is exactly at the *apex*, or summit of the shadow of the earth; and, that from the earth to this summit, there is an immense conical hill, solid like the rest of the globe, but invisible, impalpable, and pervious to mankind: on the sides of this mountain are various mansions rising in eminence and pre-excellence as you ascend, and destined for the place of residence of the blessed, according to their merits. God and the principal deities are supposed to be seated in the sides of the north, on the summit of this mountain, which is called also *Sabha*, or of the congregation. This opinion is of the greatest antiquity, as it is alluded to by *Isaiah*, almost in the words of the *Pauranics*. This prophet, describing the fate of the chief of the *Daityas*, introduces him saying,

"that he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on *the mount of the congregation*, in the sides of the north." The *mountain* or hill of God is often alluded to in Scripture."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. vi. p. 488.

"This sacred mountain, or heaven-like country, made part, it seems, of the sacred cosmography of the ancients. The *Jews* had some notions of it, and called it the mountain of God; they afterwards, with great propriety, gave that name to Mount *Moriah*. The Greeks had their Mount Olympus, inaccessible but to the gods; and *Idá-vratta*, or *Ilá-vratta*, signifies the circle of *Ila* the earth, which is called also *Idá*. Olympus is derived from the Sanscrit *Ilápu* or *Ilápus*, the holy city of *Ilá* or *Idá*; thus it appears, that Olympus and *Ida* were originally the same. In remembrance of this holy circular space, the Greeks and Romans, when wishing to build a town, marked out a circle, which the first called *Olympus*, and the others *Mundus*, from the Sanscrit *Man'da*, a circle; they said also *urbs orbis*, which is a translation of *man'da*, in the language of the gods, into that of mortals. According to Duperron, the Parsis are acquainted with such a mountain in the centre of the world, and so are the Musulmans to this day. It was not unknown to the Scythians, for they are introduced by Justin, saying, that their native country was situated on an elevated spot, higher than the rest of the world."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 316.

"The most remarkable feature in this system is Mount Méru in the centre, the *Olympus* of the *Hindus*, the place of abode of *Bramah* and his *Sabhá* congregation, or court. This mountain made also part of the cosmographical system of the *Jews*; for Isaiah, making use of such notions as were generally received in his time, introduces Lucifer, in Sanscrit *Swarbhánu*, or light of heaven, boasting that he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north. Méru has also the name of *Sabhá*, because the congregation or assembly of the gods is held there, on its northern side. Musulmans have admitted this mountain under the name of *Caf*, though they confound it in general with the mountains of *Lócálóca*, which surround the world: but when they say it is the *vatad* or pivot of the world,

this is to be understood of Mount *Méru*, which the *Pauranics* describe as exactly in the shape of a pivot; and even *Méru*, in Sanscrit, signifies an axis or pivot. According to Anquetil Duperron, the Parsis call this central mountain *Tireh*, and the whole world is equally surrounded by an immense range of mountains. In Ceylon this surrounding range is called *Chacravartta*, according to Captain Mahony,* which, in Sanscrit, signifies any thing in the shape of a ring or coil."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 284.

"The summit of *Méru* is represented as a circular plain of a vast extent, and surrounded by a base of hills; the whole is called *Ilávratta*, or the circle of *Ilá* and considered as a celestial earth, or *Swargabhúmi*; and it is thus called to this day by the people of *Tibet*, the *Chinese*, and the *Tartars*; and, like the Hindus, they have it in the greatest veneration, worshipping its encircling mountains whenever they descry them. According to De Guignes, the *Chinese* call them *Tien-c'han*, and the *Tartars* *Kiloman*, or the celestial mountains. In *Tibet* they call them *Tangra*, or *Tangla*, according to F. Cassiano and *Purán-gir*. The latter accompanied the late Lama to China, and gave me an accurate journal of his march from *Tissoo-Lumbo* to *Siling* or *Sining*. *Tingri*, in the language of the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, signifies the heavens; and even *Tibet* is called *Tibet-Tingri*, or the heavenly country of *Tibet*." *Asiat. Res.* Vol. viii. p. 314.

G. *Itinerary Measures*, § VII.—The following comparative table is from *Bellermann's Bibl. Literat.* II. p. 117.

Day's journey = $5\frac{1}{2}$ Kibrah = 20 Roman miles = 160 Stadia = 4 Geographical miles.

Kibrah = $3\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles = 5 Sabbath days' journey = 30 Stadia.

Mile = $1\frac{1}{4}$ Sabbath day's journey = 8 Stadia = 444 $\frac{2}{3}$ Kaneh or reeds.

Sabbath day's journey = 6 Stadia = 333 $\frac{1}{3}$ Kaneh = 2000 Israelitish Ells.

Stadium = 55 $\frac{1}{3}$ Kaneh = 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ paces = 333 $\frac{1}{3}$ Israelitish Ells.

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. vii.

Kaneh or reed = 3 paces = 6 Israelitish = 9 Hebrew Ells.

Pesa or pace = 2 Israelitish = 3 Hebrew Ells.

Hebrew Measures in relation to the Israelitish Ell and the Rhenish foot.

		Israelitish Ells.	Rhenish Feet.
Kibrah,	=	10,000	17685.0000
Mile, 8 Stadia,	=	2666 $\frac{2}{3}$	4916.0000
Sabbath day's journey, 6 Stadia,		2000	3337.0000
Stadium,	=	333 $\frac{1}{3}$	589.5000
Kaneh, or Measuring reed, (Calamus,)		6	10.6110
Pesa or pace, (passus,)		2	3.5370
The Israelitish Ell, i. e. the Large } Babylonish Ell or New Ammah, }		1	1.7685
The Hebrew, Natural or Little Ell, } i. e. the Old Ammah. }		$\frac{2}{3}$	1.1790
Zereth, Σπιδάμη or Span.	=	$\frac{1}{2}$	0.8842
Tephach or Palm, i. e. handbreath, Παλαιστῆ.		$\frac{1}{3}$	0.2947
Inch (Uncia or pollex,)		$\frac{1}{18}$	0.982
Ezba, Finger-breath, i. e. 6 barley-corns.		$\frac{1}{24}$	about 0.787

A geographical degree is = 15 geographical or German miles = 2958 Rhenish roods = 57120 toises = 25 French leagues = 69.5 English miles = 75 Roman miles = 600 Olympic stadia = 20 Kibrah = 100 Sabbath days' journeys.

Malte Brun (Précis de Geog. Tom I. Tab. xi.) reckons the parasang = 7200 paces, or 5 Kilometres; the Egyptian mile = 2880 paces, or 2 Kilom.; the Hebrew mile = 1.166 Kilom.; the Persian or Asiatic mile = 1.5 Kilom.; the Olympic Stadium = 185.37 Metres.

Comp. *Eisenschmid de Ponder. et Mensuris.* Argentor. 1708. *Arbuthnot's Tables,* Lond. 1754. *D'Anville, Traité des Mesures Itinéraires,* Par. 1765. *Paucton, Metrologie,* Par. 1780. *Rome de L'Isle, Metrologie,* Par. 1789.

CHAPTER II.

ANTEDILUVIAN GEOGRAPHY.

§ 1.—EDEN AND PARADISE.¹

ACCORDING to the Mosaic narrative in the book of Genesis, the residence of the first human pair was a "garden,"² in the eastern part of a country called Eden,³ a word which signifies *pleasure or pleasantness*. In the garden^a there sprang up a stream, which, after watering it, became divided into four rivers, which have been supposed to denote these four principal rivers of the earth, as known to the people of the east,⁴ viz. the Phasis, the Jihoon or Araxes, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. But the stream of the garden of Eden whence the four great rivers took their rise is now sought for in vain.⁵ The rivers mentioned continue indeed to flow, but from different sources, which lie widely separate.⁶ [See the Appendix to the present chapter.]

1. The name *Paradise* has passed into all European languages from the Vulgate, which, in Gen. ii. 8, renders גן בעדן, by *Paradisum voluptatis*. In translating גן (garden) by *Paradisus*, the writer had followed the Greek of the Seventy, who have παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέν. These Alexandrian Jews formed Παράδεισος from the Hebrew פֶּרֶדֶס, *pardes*, which occurs Neh. ii. 8; Eccl.

^a The source of the river does not seem to have been within the garden. Comp. Gen. ii. 10. "A river went out of Eden to water the garden."—M.

ii. 5; and Canticles iv. 13, and signifies a garden. Yet it is not an original Hebrew word, any more than the corresponding term ^{فردوس} *firdaus* is originally Arabic. Of the latter it is said in the *Kamûs*. Vol. I.

p. 784, Calcutta Edit. ^{فردوس} *firdaus* ^{الادوية التي تنبت} *al-adwiyat al-ti tanbit*

^{ضروباً من النبت والبستان} *shrubbat min al-nabat wal-bastan* ^{يجمع كل ما} *yajma'u kullu ma*

^{يكون في البساتين يكون فيه الكروم وقد} *yakun fi al-bastan yakun fiha al-kurum wa-qad*

^{يؤث عربية او رومية نقلت او سريانية} *yuth 'Arabiyya aw Rumīyya nuqlat aw Suriyāniyya*

El Firdauso denotes vallies, which bring forth all kinds of plants; also a garden which contains whatever is wont to be in gardens—including vines. It is used in Arabic in the feminine, and is a word taken from the Greek or Syriac language.^a It is a prevalent opinion that this word is of Persian derivation. But the term which in that language commonly signifies a garden is *باغ* *Bagh*; there is likewise *چمن* *Tshemen*, an orchard or pulse-garden, *بوستان* *Bustan*, or *بستان* *Bostan*, a garden of trees, a park, &c. It is not improbable that *فردوس* is of Armenian origin, as Schröder has remarked in the Preface to his *Thesaurus Ling. Arme-*

^a A learned friend suggests a doubt, whether the last part of this extract from Firuzabadi be correctly rendered by Rosenmüller. He would translate: "And it is feminine:—Arabic or Greek, it is said, or Syriac," implying that the lexicographer did not positively deny its Arabic origin.—M.

nicæ, p. 56 ; Armenicam esse vocem *Pardes*, non tantum ejus adhuc frequens usus, sed et compositio ipsa docet, cujus voces simplices Armenis obviæ sunt ; componitur enim ex *Part ses*, i. e. *necessaria gramina vel olera*. Estque Armenis *Pardes* hortus domui semper proximus, graminibus, herbis, floribus, ad usum et ornatum consitus, distinguendus ab *Aig*, vinea. [See the foot note b in p. 49.]

2. "The first abode of man was a garden. For new-born-man it was the easiest way of life, since every other, that of the husbandman not excepted, requires art and experience of various kinds. This trait also indicates what the whole disposition of our nature confirms, that man was not formed to live wild, but in tranquillity ; and thus as the Creator best knew the destination of his creatures, man, like all the rest, was created, as it were in his element, in the seat of that kind of life for which he was intended." Herder's *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*. English Translation, by Churchill, Vol. i. p. 307.

3. עֵדֶן Arabic غَدْنٌ, which Firuzabadi in his *Kamûs* (B. ii. p. 786) explains by النِّعْمَةُ وَاللِّينُ *pleasantness and loveliness*. Similar in sound and meaning is the Greek ἡδονή, *voluptas*. Some would translate גֶּן-עֵדֶן "a garden in a pleasant country." But that *Eden* is here the proper name of a certain tract of land is evident from its being said (Gen. iv. 16,) that Nod lay to the east of Eden. The same word also occurs (2 Kings xix. 12 ; Isa. xxxvii. 12,) as the name of a district of Mesopotamia or Assyria, and in Amos i. 5, of a pleasant vale near Damascus.

Only it is to be observed that עֵדֶן, the seat of Paradise, is always written with the vowel-points Zere (..) and Segol (ֿ) (Gen. ii. 8, 15; iii. 23; iv. 16; Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 9; Joel ii. 3); but when used of another country, it is written עֵדֶן with a double Segol. Hasse (in his *Entdeckungen*, I. p. 65,) thinks עֵדֶן signifies a *strong, lasting, durable dwelling*, (like the Arabic عَدْن ^{س ع ن}) a land of long life and abode, a *Macrobia*. “And so indeed, says he, is it set forth in Scripture. For Paradise, which was in Eden, contained *the tree of life*, of which it is expressly said, that whoever ate of it should live for ever.” Gen. ii. 9; iii. 23. He then refers to the Greek tradition regarding a Hyperborean^a people, called the Macrobii, and their country Macrobia, (*i. e.* the land of longevity), who were supposed to live for centuries in a state of paradisaical tranquillity. He farther urges that in the Koran (*e. g.* Sur. ix. 73; xx. 78,) the heavenly paradise is styled جَنَاتِ عَدْن ^{و ن د س ن} *the gardens of perpetual abode*. Yet, as in the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, the verb עָדַן, Neh. ix. 25, and the nouns עֵדֶנִים, 2 Sam. i. 24; Ps. xxxvi. 9, and עֵדֶן, Gen. xviii. 12, are unquestionably employed to express the idea of *pleasure, delight*, it seems safer to hold by the commonly received opinion.^b

^a Others place the Macrobii in Ethiopia, (*e. g.* Pompon. Mela, i. 10, who also calls them Meroëni;) but as Hasse finds the seat of Paradise in Prussia, it suits his scheme better to seek them in the North.—M.

^b “The word *Eden* is perhaps derived from the Sanscrit, *Udyān*, a garden.” Wilford in the *Asiat. Res.* vi. p. 488,

4. Wahl in his work on Asia, (p. 853, note) refers to Munedshem Baashy Ahhmed Efendy, who, in his Sketch of the Universal History of the East, (a collection from the most ancient and valuable historical and sacred writers of Arabia and Persia) says, "Paradise lay in the middle of Aden, the region of delight; it was watered by a wonderful river, the source of four rivers of the East, Jihoon, Sihoon, Dijlat and Fraat."

5. "Where lay the garden in which the Creator placed his gentle, defenceless creature?" As the tradition is from the west of Asia, it places it "eastwards, and farther up toward the rising of the sun, on a height from which flowed a stream, that afterwards divided itself into four great rivers." No tradition can display less partiality; for while every ancient nation is desirous of representing itself as the first, and its land as the birth place of mankind, this removes the primitive country to a distance, on the highest ridge of the habitable earth. And where is this height? Where do the four rivers that are mentioned arise from one stream, as the original writing plainly says? No where in our geography; and it is in vain to torture the names of the rivers in a thousand ways; for an impartial view of the map of the world informs us that the Euphrates and the three other rivers flow from one source or stream nowhere upon earth. But if we recollect the traditions of all the Upper Asiatics,

note. It is said by Wilson—(Sanskrit Dict.) to signify "a royal garden," and is derived from *ud*, up, and *yā*, to go. In the same language, *paradêsha*, *paradîsha* denotes, according to Gesenius, *terra elatior, bene culta*.—M.

we shall find in them all this paradise on the loftiest land of the globe, with its original living fountain, with its rivers fertilizing the world. Chinese and Thibetians, Hindoos and Persians, speak of this primitive mountain, of the creation round which lands, seas and islands lie, and from the cloud-capped summit of which the earth has received the boon of its rivers. This tradition is not void of physical principles ; without mountains our earth could have no running waters, and the map shews, that all the rivers of Asia flow from these heights. Accordingly, the tradition we are explaining, passes by every thing fabulous, respecting the rivers of paradise, and names four of the most generally known, which flow from the mountains of Asia. It is true these proceed not from one stream ; but to the later collector of these traditions, it was sufficient to indicate a remote part of the east, as the primitive seat of mankind." Herder's Philosophy of the History of Mankind, Eng. Translation, Vol. I. p. 508.

6. Rosenmüller here enters into some speculations respecting the History of the Fall, which I omit, as having no bearing upon the main subject ; but the leading illustrations are subjoined.

The Eden of the Parsees.—The *Vendidad*, which is the twentieth part of the Zend-Avesta, and is read by the Mobeds (priests of the Parsees) instead of a Liturgy, begins with the following words: Ormuzd spake to Sapetman (the excellent) Zoroaster: I have created, O Sapetman Zoroaster, a place of delights and of abundance ; no one could make its equal. Came not this region of pleasure from me, O Sapetman Zoroaster—no being could have created it. It is called Eerienè Vējô—it is more beau-

tiful than the whole world, wide as it is. Nothing can equal the charms of that country of pleasure which I have created. The first habitation of blessedness and abundance, which I, who am Ormuzd, created, without any impurity, was Eerienè Vējô. Thereupon came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which watered Eerienè Vējô, the great serpent of winter that comes from *Dew*." *Eerienè Vējô*, ایران ویدج

that is, the Pure Iran, denotes the beautiful country of Erivan in Armenia, watered by the Khur and the Aras, (the Cyrus and Araxes) which may also be considered as a part of northern Media. A district in it where Zoroaster was born, (according to the Bundeshesh in Zend-Avesta, Book III.) was called *Hedenesh*, or *Heden*, which word in the Pehlevi language signifies *a place of rest*. Wahl has the probable conjecture that it is the tract called by Ptolemy and Stephanus Ωτηνη (incorrectly Μωτηνη) Comp. *Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persar.* p. 171, *Wahl's Asia*, p. 524. *Cellarii Geog. Ant. Tom. II.* p. 325. *Zend-Avesta* by *Kleuker*, Part II. p. 53, 299.

The Tree of Life.—The Zend books likewise mention *a tree of life*. In the Bundeshesh, (that part of the Zend-Avesta which contains the cosmogony of the ancient Persians) it is said: "Among these trees, is the white, salubrious, and fruitful *Hom*; it grows in the fountain of Arduisur, which springs from the throne of Ormuzd; whoever drinks of the water or the sap of this tree becomes immortal. It is called *Gokeren*, as it is written. "The death-exPELLING *Hom* was given for the raising of the dead to life. It is the king of trees." In the Indian tradi-

tions, mention is made of the tree of Paradise, *Kalpaurksham*, which contains the drink and food of immortality, promised to the inferior deities or good genii. See the Account of the Brahminical Mythology, according to the Latin work of Father Paulus à S. Bartholomæus, Gotha, 1797, p. 244.

SECT. II.—THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE.

The stream of paradise, after it had watered the garden, divided itself into four *heads*,¹ *i. e.* principal rivers, Gen. ii. 10. By these are no doubt intended the four largest rivers of Upper and Middle Asia, which were more or less known to the Hebrews. The Arabian geographers specify the same number of rivers, and they agree also with the Mosaic narrative in the names given to them, with only one exception.² The order in which they are enumerated, is, according to the position of their sources from north to south—the Phishon, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Phraat.³

¹“ The Hindus place the terrestrial Paradise on the elevated plains of *Bukhara the Lesser*, where there is a river which goes round *Brahmapuri*, or the town of *Brahma*; then through a lake called *Mansarovara*, (the existence of which is very doubtful,) and is erroneously supposed by travelling fakeers to be the same with that from which the Ganges issues, which is called in *Sanscrit*, *Bindu Sarovara*. From the *Mansarovara* lake come *four* rivers running towards the four corners of the world, through four rocks cut in the shape of the heads of four animals. The *Cow's* head is toward the south, and from it issues the *Gangá*; toward the west is a *Horse's*

1. The *Pishon* or *Phishon*³ was the most northerly of the streams, and the farthest from Palestine; and being thus the least known to the Hebrews, Moses found it necessary to give a minuter description of its course. The name Phishon suggests the *Phasis*,* a celebrated river of antiquity;—though, indeed, that appellation was given to more than one river, and, like several other proper names of rivers, it seems to have originally denoted in almost all languages a *river* generally.⁴ By the Phasis, however, is commonly understood that stream, which, in the lower part of its course, is still called by the Iberians *Pehàs*, by the Persians and Turks *Phash*.⁵ It rises in the Caucasian range of Soani, runs towards the west, traverses Iberia (the ancient Colchis,) and falls into the Black Sea.⁶ In its upper course, where it is called the Rioni, it is rapid and impetuous, but after passing the fortress of Kutais, the seat of the Czar of Imeritia, it flows more smoothly; the mouth is about half-a-league broad.^b Yet the name Phasis is also head, from which springs the *Chocshu* or Chocshus: it is the *Oxus*. The *Sitá-Ganga*, or Hoang-ho, issues from an *Elephant's* head; and lastly, the *Bhadra-gangá* or *Yenisea* in *Siberia*, from a *Tiger's* head, or a *Lion's* head according to others." *Wilford* in the *Asiatic Researches*, VI. p. 488.—M.

* The final syllables *on* and *is* are not essential to the words, but are additions required by the different genius of the two languages.

^b " In old times the Rione or Phasis, had 120 bridges over it, and there was a continual transfer of merchandise that united

given by *Xenophon* (in his description of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Book IV. chap. 6,) and after him by other ancient authors, to a river in Southern Armenia, namely the *Aras*, *Araxes*, *Arashi*, which, after it has received the *Kur*, the *Cyrus* of the ancients, discharges itself into the Caspian Sea.⁷ To decide whether of these two rivers Phasis is intended by the Hebrew Phison is impossible.⁸ They appear to have been often confounded together;⁹ though, in the Zend books they are clearly distinguished, the Phasis being called the Pueteke,¹⁰ and the Araxes the Voorokeshē.¹¹ But it is the latter that is chiefly celebrated as the stream which received the seed of life, and spread it over the earth so as to fertilize all lands.¹² If, as we suppose, (see the next section,) the land of Havilah be Colchis, that circumstance would confirm the opinion, that the *Phishon* is the Phasis of Iberia.¹³

2. The second of the rivers is the *Gihon* (Gen. ii. 10, 13,) or, according to the Arabic and Persian pronunciation, the *Jihoon*.¹⁴ This, to the present day, denotes throughout the East, that great river, which, by the Greeks and Romans, was called the Oxus¹⁵ and has always been

in some measure this river to the Cyrus, and consequently the Caspian to the Black Sea; it is now crossed only in small boats of the hollowed trunks of trees." Malte Brun's *Geography*, ii. p. 37. See *Reineggs and Guldenstedt on the Caucasus*, and *Ker Porter's Travels*, I. p. 112.—M.

regarded as one of the principal rivers of Eastern Asia.^a Its importance was early marked by the designation of a certain region, as the *country beyond the river*, that is, the tract called by the ancient Persians, *Turan*,¹⁶ by the Macedonians and Romans *Transoxania*, and by the Arabs, *Mawarannahar*.¹⁷ It was to the Hebrews the remotest of the four rivers towards the east, and seems to have been but imperfectly known to them. The Greeks appear to have been ignorant of it until the time of Alexander the Great, and even then they became acquainted only with the middle part of its course, where the Conqueror crossed it with his army on his way to Sogdiana.¹⁸ For precise accounts of its origin and course we are indebted to modern researches.¹⁹ It rises in the snowy mountains of Little Thibet—traverses in a north-westerly direction, under the name of the Koksha, the Alpine tracts of Badzachshan, Chotlan, and Wachsi, within which it is joined by five great rivers; and reaches the middle of its course at Termed, to the north of Balkh. Thence, under the name of the Amu, or Amu-Daria, it flows towards Kharesm, a dis-

^a For the latest and most accurate accounts of the Oxus, see the *Travels* of our enterprising countryman Burnes. In here identifying the Gihon with the Oxus, Rosenmüller contradicts the opinion he seemed to give in Sect. I. that it is the Araxes. It is admitted that in the language of the east, the Oxus is the *Jihoon par excellence*; yet the Araxes is often called the *Jihoon-el-Ras*.—M.

trict bordering the Caspian Sea, on the south-east. Here the Jihoon is divided into several arms, some of which run into the Caspian, and some into the Lake of Aral, while others are lost in the sand.^{a 20}

3. Much better known to the Hebrews than either of these streams was the third river, the *Hiddekel*, called by the Aramaeans *Digla*, by the Arabs *Dijlat*, by the Greeks and Romans *Tigris*.²¹ Its sources, however, are as yet but obscurely known. According to an account which the elder Pliny²² had probably received from Roman generals, the Tigris has its rise in two springs, whose waters unite into one stream below Diarbekr, to the south of Hhasn-Keifa (Castellum Cepha.) The eastern arm rises in Great Armenia, near Elegosine, at the west end of the Lake of Van,^b flows through the salt lake of Arethusa, is lost under the mountain range of Niphâtes, a part of the chain of Taurus, appears again after a course of twenty-five (Roman) miles at Zoroanda, and after passing through the Lake of Arzen, joins the Western Tigris. Later accounts²³ bear, that the Tigris is formed from several rapid mountain streams, which, descending from the up-

^a The question about the *embouchure* of the Oxus is one of the most curious in Geography. See it discussed in Malte Brun, ii. 318.—M.

^b The *Arsissa Palus* of Ptolemy, and the Mantian Lake of Strabo.—M.

per valleys of the Taurus, collect in the elevated plain above Diarbekr. A recent traveller through these countries, Sir Robert Ker Porter,²⁴ says, that the sources of the Tigris are in the Armenian mountains, about fifty (English) miles north-west of the Valley of Diarbekr. At and below that town, the Tigris is still an inconsiderable stream, but it is perceptibly enlarged by the accession of the river of Miafara-kin; and being joined by other important tributaries, rushes with great rapidity along a rocky channel past Mosul.²⁵ The river is there only 300 feet wide,²⁶ but very impetuous in its course, and, when suddenly swollen by the melting of the snows, destroys the bridges of boats which connect Nunia on the east bank with Mosul on the west. The rafts, called *Kelleks*,²⁷ which are constructed of inflated sheep skins, are sent hence down to Bagdad. In the middle part of its course, from Mosul to Korneh, the banks of the Tigris, once the seat of high culture, and the residence of mighty kings, are now desolate, covered with relics of ancient greatness, in the ruins of fortresses, mounds, and dams, which had been erected for the defence or irrigation of the country. At the castle of Nimrud, eight leagues below Mosul, is a large stone dam on both sides of the river, a work of great skill and labour, and now venerable for its antiquity.²⁸ Above Tekrit, the Tigris leaves the high land, rushing through the mountain

pass of Hameryn with a rapidity that is dangerous to unskilful navigators.²⁹ Yet rocky banks occasionally occur below, till within two days' journey of Bagdad, where it is joined by the Odorneh. It is thence navigable for flat boats of from twenty to thirty tons burden; though all the way to Bagdad the eastern bank is still precipitous, covered with thick jungles, which are the resort of all kinds of wild beasts.³⁰ At Korneh, between Bagdad and Basra (Bassora), the Euphrates and Tigris unite; the combined stream receives the name of the *Shat-el-Arab*,³¹ and after a course of thirty geographical miles, runs through several mouths into the Persian Gulf.³²

4. The *Fraat*³³ is still the name of the stream which was called by the Greeks and Romans the *Euphrates*, and by the Hebrews the *Great River*, or simply the *River*.³⁴ The following description of it is chiefly taken from the account of Sir R. K. Porter.³⁵ Although not so rapid as its twin-river, the Tigris, it is far more majestic, and has a longer course. It rises from three springs in the mountains of Armenia. The uppermost source is a few miles north of Arzeroom, and the river is there called *Kara-Su*,^b a name which is common to rivers in Persia.³⁶ The second source is about thirty miles south of Arzeroom, and forms what is termed the *West Frat*; and the third is many miles eastward,

^a i. e. the river of Arabia.

^b i. e. the Black Water.

not far from Bayazid. After these three streams have traversed in a south-westerly direction, many a rugged dell and fruitful valley, they unite their waters into one channel, at the foot of a mountain, nearly opposite the source of the Tigris. It then becomes a large river, which runs to the south and south-west, almost parallel with the Tigris, until they unite at Korneh, (as above described) and form the *Shat-el-Arab*, which discharges itself into the Persian Gulf, seventy miles south of Basra. The name *Frat*, according to Josephus, signifies *fertility* and also *dispersion*,³⁷ and both these meanings correspond to the nature of the river. The length of its course is not less than 1400 English miles, but the breadth, even after it has attained its full size, is very variable. Between the ruins of the Kasr and the village of Anana, it is 450 feet broad; having been in the time of Strabo of the width of a stadium, which, reckoning the stadium at 500 feet, is no material difference. Wherever Porter had an opportunity of estimating the width, he never found it to exceed 700 feet. In spring, the waters of the Euphrates begin to rise sooner than those of the Tigris. Early in March there is a perceptible elevation, and by the end of April it reaches its greatest height, which is twelve feet above the ordinary level. It remains in this state till the end of June, when the water subsides into its former channel, and resumes its wonted equable flow. In the middle of winter,

generally about the month of January, a partial rising of the waters is observed, which very quickly disappears. But the sudden and impetuous inundations of spring, present an appearance of awful grandeur. When the Euphrates (says Rich, as reported by Sir R. K. Porter) reaches its greatest elevation, it overflows the surrounding country, fills up, without the necessity of any human labour, the canals which are dug for the reception of its waters, and thus amazingly facilitates the operations of husbandry. The ruins of Babylon are then inundated, so as to render many parts inaccessible, the intermediate hollows being converted into marshes. But the most remarkable flood of the Euphrates is at Felugiah, twelve leagues west of Bagdad, where it bursts through the dam built to confine it in its channel, overflows the adjoining country, spreads itself to near the banks of the Tigris, and has withal such depth, as to become navigable for rafts and flat boats. Rich adds, that at the time he wrote this account (the 24th May, 1812) rafts laden with lime came daily, in consequence of this flood, from Felugiah to within a few yards of the northern gate of Bagdad, which is called the gate of Imam Musa.³⁸

When the Prophet Jeremiah says to the Jews (chap. ii. 18): *And now, why art thou upon the way to Egypt, to drink the water of Sihor (i. e. the Nile)? and why art thou upon the way to Assyria, to drink the water of the river (the Euphrates)?*

—this is not to be understood literally. To go into a foreign land, and drink the water of its rivers, signifies, in the figurative language of the prophets, “to repair for help to strangers.” And, in order to the full understanding of the allusion here, it is to be observed, that the water of both the rivers mentioned is naturally muddy,^a so that artificial means must be used to render it drinkable.³⁹ The idea then is this: that the Hebrew people in vain sought for safety in alliances with Egypt or Assyria; and yet, though the Nile and Euphrates could yield them only troubled and slimy water, they, nevertheless, preferred these streams to the “fountain of living waters,” (verse 13) even Jehovah, their God.

1. ראשׁים. J. D. *Michaelis*, and others after him, give to this word the meaning of *sources*, and translate the whole verse thus: “*Rivers* sprang up in Eden; they flowed in different directions, and had four sources.” This translation is not only forced, but positively erroneous. For if the last words of the verse had the sense which *Michaelis* attaches to them, it would have run thus והיו לו ארבעה ראשׁים. The only correct rendering is: “A stream went out from Eden, to water the garden, and from thence (*namely*,

^a In note 39, the author shews this to be true of the Euphrates; and even of the Nile, whose water is so delicious and far-famed, Niebuhr says (Travels, Vol. I. p. 71) that the water is always somewhat muddy; but by rubbing with bitter almonds, prepared in a particular manner, the earthen jars in which it is kept, it is rendered clear, light, and salutary.—M.

after it had watered the garden) it divided itself, and became into four heads, or chief rivers."^a In the following verse it is said, שם דזמדר, the name of the first, viz. שר which is to be supplied from the ראשים immediately preceding; and in verse 13, ושם דזמדר דשני, where דזמדר *river* is evidently synonymous with שר *head*.

2. See above, Note 4, to Sect. I. of the present chapter.

3. פישן, in the Septuagint Φεισών. If we seek the etymology in a root of the Hebrew or some cognate language, פוש presents itself, which signifies in Chald. to *grow*, to *increase*. Then פישן (like דזיצון from דזון) may denote a *large, mighty river*, after the same analogy as in the Arabic فاض (for فيض) means to be *copious*, and in reference to water, to *overflow*; ⁵⁰فيض a *rich afflux of water*, and with the article, the *river Nile*. Josephus (Antiq. I. i. 3) gives the same meaning to the name Pison, which he took for the Ganges: Καὶ Φεισὼν μὲν σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοῦνομα· ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος. He no doubt here followed the tradition or gloss of the Alexandrian Jews. Comp. Note 20, below.

4. As Gihon, (see note 14) Amu, Don, Rhine.^b

^a I am inclined to think that שר here does not mean a *chief-river*, but rather a *river-head*. This is also Gesenius' opinion; see his Comment. on Isaiah, II. p. 322. Winer in his Bibl. Realwörterb. article *Eden* (p. 334 note,) rejects both interpretations, and understands the river of Paradise to be personified—as a body with four heads!—M.

^b In German *Rhein*; so also the *Rhone*, both manifestly from *rinnen*, to *run*.—M.

5. فاش. The town lying at the mouth of the Phasis, and which was anciently known by the name of that river, is still called by the Suanes,^a *Passa*, *Puthi*, or *Pothi*, words evidently formed out of *Phasis*, as the letters p and f as well as s and t, are often interchanged. *Reineggs* Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. ii. p. 40. *Klaproth*, in his Travels in the Caucasus (Vol. ii. p. 22) says: The town and fortress of Pothi, at the mouth of the Rioni is called by the Turks قلعة فاش *Kalah Fash*, i. e. the Fort of Fash, from the Lower Rioni, which bears the name of the Fash, and suggests the ancient Phasis. By the Turks likewise the Rioni is designated فاش صوبي *Fass-suyi*, i. e. the water of Fash." Puthi is probably an abbreviation of Pueteke, the name of the Phasis in the Zend Books. See Note 10, below, *Klaproth*, Vol. ii. p. 33.

6. *Reineggs*, as last cited, p. 35. Comp. *Chardin's* Travels by Langles, Vol. i. p. 420. *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 909.

7. See *Wahl's* work on Asia, p. 770; *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 764, 806, 910.

8. Some suppose that the one anciently flowed into the other, so as to form but one stream. *Wahl*, in his work on Asia, is of opinion, that by the Pishon, Moses intended not one particular river, but the basin of the Caucasus, or its rivers generally.

9. *Voss* on Virgil's Georgics, p. 326, 854.

10. Thus it is said in the Vendidad, Fargard V.

^a The Suanes are a tribe of the Georgians. Their name signifies "the highlanders." See *Pallas' Travels in the South of Russia*, Vol. i.—M.

(*Zend. Avesta*, by *Kleuker*, Vol. ii. p. 323.) “Thou, O Ormuzd, pourest out water into the world; thou also pourest out water into the river Pueteke.” And again, “I, who am Ormuzd, let the water flow out into the world; also into the river Pueteke, which, when it is filled, is a pleasant river.”

11. See *Zend. Avesta*, B. ii. 323, Note a.

12. Jeschts Sadès lxxxvii. 6, *Zend. Avesta*, ii. 213, “Hereupon, O Zoroaster, Taschter (a star of benignant influence) shining in light and glory, darted with rapid course into the Zare (river) Voorokesche.....into the pure Zare, which gives life in profusion, which gives every day’s food in abundance, &c.” The ninth *carde* begins, p. 215; “Praise to the star of Taschter, which dispenses the seed of life, and scatters seed into the Zare Voorokesche.” See *Zend. Avesta*, i. 178, 179, the second edit. and ii. p. 178, 179.

13. For other opinions as to the Pishon, see the translator’s note at the end of this chapter.—M.

14. גִּיחוֹן, جیحون, not to be confounded with جیحان the *Jihan* in Cilicia, the *Pyramus* of the Greeks; see *Golijs* on *Alfargani*, p. 286, 292, and *Assemani’s Bibl. Orient.* Tom. ii. Dissert. de *Monophysitis*. The name גִּיחוֹן does certainly originally signify a stream in general, from גִּיחַ to *break forth*, which verb is used in *Job* xl. 18, (or 23) of the breaking forth of a stream. Hence *Jihoon* is found as a prefix to the names of other rivers, as *Jihoon-ēl-Ras*, the *Araxes*; *Jihoon-Kank*, the *Ganges*; *Jihoon-Atel*, the *Volga*. See *Reland’s*

Diss. de Situ Parad. § 16, p. 32. *Michaelis* Supp. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 298. But *Jihoon*, without any addition, is used exclusively of the *Oxus*. יִדְדִין is also the name of an aqueduct at Jerusalem. 1 Kings i. 33; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

15. The name *Oxus* is derived from the *Kokscha*, which was the designation anciently given by the *aborigines* to this river, in the upper part of its course. See *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 512.

16. Comp. *Ritter*, ii. p. 51.

17. مَا وَرَاءَ النِّهَرِ. Meaning, what is *behind* or *beyond* the river.

18. See *Arrian's* Exped. of Alexander, III. 29. p. 250, Edit. of Raphelius.

19. More especially by the learned researches and critical acumen of *Ritter*, in his Erdkunde, II. p. 480, et seqq.

20. *Ritter*, as last cited, p. 665. *Wahl's* Asia, p. 754. The Egyptian Jews took the Gihon for the Nile, Ecclesiastic. xxiv. 37,—an opinion followed by Josephus in his Antiq. I. 1, 3. Γηών δὲ, διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων, δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῶν ὃν δὲ Νεῖλον Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.

21. הַרְדִּי, אֲרִי, אֲדָמָה, دجلة. That this stream derived its name from the rapid impetuosity of its course, is an ancient and universal opinion. According to the Rabbinical Commentators, הַרְדִּי is composed of רַדִּי *sharp, quick*, and הַר *light, swift*. So *Josephus*: Τίγρης δὲ Διγλάδ ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὄξύ. *Pliny* says in his Hist. Nat. vi. 27: Ipsius qua tardior fluit (nomen) *Diglito*; unde conci-

tatur, celeritate *Tigris* incipit vocari. Ita appellant Medi sagittam. But *Diglito* is still the common Syriac and Aramæan name of the river, and has been adopted by the Arabs; *Tigris*, on the other hand, was the Median name. In the Zend and Pehlevi, the remains of the ancient Median language, *Tedjerem* and *Tedjera* signify a *swift stream*, from the root, *tadjed*, it flows or rushes *rapidly*; *tagur* also, in the Pehlevi dialect means *speedy, swift*. But in the Kurd and Persian languages *Tir* (تیر) denotes an arrow, a javelin, and is moreover still the name of the river in question. *Diogenes Periegeta*, c. 913, calls the *Tigris* Ποταμὸν ὀχίστον πάντων. *Curtius* says of this river (IV. 9): Nec sane alius ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur; multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens: itaque a celeritate qua defluit *Tigris* nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua *Tigrim* sagittam vocant. *Della Valle* indeed says (in his Travels, Letter 17th) that when he saw this stream, on the 18th October at the village of Imam Musa above Bagdad, it was not rolling so rapidly as the Euphrates. But the waters must have been then unusually low, or *Della Valle*'s description must be confined to that particular part of the river where it becomes very broad, and the flow is so sluggish as to be scarcely perceptible. The *Tigris* is also called by the Arabs السلام *as-Salām*, i. e. peace or prosperity. See below at Note 28.

22. Hist. Nat. iv. 27.

23. *Kinneir's* Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire. Lond. 1813, p. 10. *Jackson's* Journey

through Irak-Arabi, Aljezira, and Anadoli. (Weimar, 1803) p. 98.

24. Travels, Vol. ii. p. 258.

25. ^وموصـل *Mausel*, i. e. connection, union, so called from the bridges of boats at that place.

26. *Niebuhr's Travels*, II. p. 354. (Ger.)

27. The following is an abstract of Ker Porter's account. Vol. II. p. 259. The Tigris first becomes navigable for vessels of more than twenty tons, about sixty miles above^a Bagdad. Yet it is made serviceable for communication and trade, considerably higher up; since, by means of a kind of float called a *kelek*, the use of which is very ancient, passengers and goods (chiefly corn and copper,) are conveyed from Mosul to Bagdad. The construction of such a vessel is admirably adapted to the purpose. It consists of a raft in the form of a parallelogram; the trunks of two large trees, laid crosswise, serve as a foundation for the platform, which is formed of branches of osier twigs, fastened with admirable ingenuity to the stems below. This light superstructure rests upon sheepskins filled with air, which are so arranged, that, in the event of the air escaping, they can again be immediately inflated. The whole is then wattled and bound together with well twined wicker work, and a raised parapet of the same effectually protects the passengers and goods from the water. The vessel is

^a Rosenmüller has "below;" but on referring to the original of Sir R. Ker Porter's work, I find it should be "above."—M.

propelled by two large oars on each side, and a third at one end acts as a rudder. When the raft has reached its place of destination, and the cargo is discharged, the materials are sold, with the exception of the skins, which, after being exhausted of the air, are laid on camels, and carried back by the owners overland. In summer the voyage occupies eight or ten days, but in spring it may be performed in four or five, from which an estimate may be drawn of the increased rapidity of the river at that season. The impetuosity of the torrent prevents the return of these rafts by water. The *kelek*, however, is not the only singular vessel which is seen on these celebrated rivers, and whose invention is of ancient date. The *kufah*, an Arabic word, [كوفة], which signifies *a basket*, and which is the common wherry boat, appears no less remarkable. It is made of willows, closely twisted together, and well coated with the bitumen with which the country abounds, and which, while it renders it impervious to water, likewise serves to increase its buoyancy. Being perfectly round, it resembles a large bowl on the surface of the water, and has room enough for three or four persons, who cannot, however, sit in the most convenient posture. It is paddled across with ease, and without losing much way from the force of the current. Herodotus (I. 194,) describes both these kinds of boats, as having been, in his day, employed on the rivers of Babylon. He says, they were formed of willows and the skins of animals, and when they reached the great city, the owners sold all the materials, except the skins, which they took back with them upon asses. Porter says he was informed, that

a vessel of a curious construction, of the figure of a half moon, carrying one mast and a large latteen sail, and by which intercourse is carried on between Bagdad and Bussorah, reaches the latter place with a favourable wind in six or seven days. But the voyage is seldom undertaken, unless when a sufficient number assemble to form a fleet strong enough to keep in awe the Arab robbers who infest the river banks. A minute description of the *keleks* has also been given by Tavernier, in his Trav. Book II. ch. 5 and 6. Comp. Niebuhr's Trav. Vol. ii. p. 347, 354.

28. Niebuhr, as just quoted, p. 355. Owing to the circumstance of the canals from the Tigris watering the country and rendering it fruitful, this river has also received the Arabic name of نهر السلام Nahar-as-salām, *the river of peace or prosperity*, and hence the town of Bagdad, lying on this river, is called مدينة السلام Medīnat-as-salām, *the town of peace*, D'Herbelot indeed supposes, (Bib. Orient. art. *Digelat*) that the Tigris obtained that name, because Bagdad, as the seat of the Khalifat was designated دار السلام *Dar-as-salām*, the abode of peace or of prosperity. But in the Scholia to Hariri, edited by De Sacy, (p. 134,) it is expressly said, ^ودجلة اسم السلام *As-salām*, the name of the Tigris," and hence the town of Bagdad is called مدينة السلام Medīnat-as-Salām.

29. This place is called, according to Niebuhr, Fätha, an Arabic word, (فَتْحٌ), which signifies an *opening*, and specially, *a place whence water gushes*.

30. "The Tigris is at Bagdad from 600 to 620 feet wide. There is a mean bridge laid upon thirty-four small boats, which are fastened together by three strong chains. In calm weather, or when the river is not rapid, this bridge is commodious enough. But when the wind and stream are in opposition, it becomes insecure; and when the river suddenly rises, it is often carried away. We had an instance of this in January 1768, during a strong south-east wind." *Niebuhr*, in the work last quoted, p. 298. He adds, that the difference between the highest and lowest elevation of the Tigris is about twenty feet. According to Ker Porter, (Vol. ii. p. 258,) the first rising of the Tigris occurs in April, and is caused by the melting of the winter snows in the mountains; the second takes place at the end of October or beginning of November, and immediately after the annual rains in the high regions. But it is only in spring that the country is covered by a complete inundation, and Bagdad stands like a castellated island, in the midst of a boundless sea.

31. شَط الْعَرَب The former of these Arabic words signifies properly the *bank* of a river, and then the *stream* itself. The united stream in question, was called by the ancients *Pasitigris*.

32. A minute account of the course of the Tigris, and its numerous windings, according to the degrees of longitude and latitude, has been given by *Abulfeda* in the introduction to his geographical tables, a Latin translation of which by Reiske will be found in *Busching's Magazine for Hist. and Geog.*, Vol. iv. p.

161. Abulfeda, however, never uses the name *Shat-el-Arab* for the united river ; but says the Tigris falls into the Persian Gulf at Abbadan عبادان.

33. פֶּרַת, *Forāt*.

34. חֲנֹדֶר חֲנֹדֶל Deut. i. 7. Jos. i. 4. חֲנֹדֶר Isa. vii. 20. Jer. ii. 18. Mic. vii. 12.

35. Travels, Vol. ii. p. 403.

36. The two words *قره صو*, are Turkish, the first signifies *black*, the second, *water*. *Karah-Su*, says Wahl (on Asia p. 701, Note) is the name of a great many rivers in Asia. It is a designation given to such as are reckoned impetuous and dangerous to cross. By the epithet *karah*, or black, applied to rivers or mountains, the Turks express the idea of peril and terror. On the other hand *ak*, اكي, denotes what is quiet, peaceful, safe." Ker Porter informs us, (Travels, Vol. ii. p. 673,) that not far from the village of Elija, near Arzeroom, he perceived the *Karah-Su*, flowing past the mountains to the north. It is one of the western sources of the Euphrates, and even there runs in a broad channel, being crossed by a bridge of six arches. The source itself is about thirty miles distant, in that branch of the Tchiller mountains, which is called the range of Auggi-Dahgler ; the surrounding country bears the name of *Keldir*.

37. Antiqq. I. i. 3. Καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φορὰ, σημαίνει δὲ ἥτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνθος.*

* The true etymology of the *Frat* will rather be found in the cognate Arabic terms denoting *sweet water*.—M.

38. On the Euphrates, see also *Wahl*, Asia, p. 700. *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. ii. p. 120, 130. Abulfeda describes its course in the work cited above at note 32, (p. 164.)

39. "The water of the Euphrates, says Rauwolf, (Trav. p. 139,) being always troubled, and consequently unfit for drinking, is placed in earthen jars or pitchers for an hour or two, until the sand and other impurities sink to the bottom, where they are soon found lying to the thickness of a man's finger." He then refers to the passage we have quoted from Jeremiah, as illustrative of this circumstance. Tavernier remarks, (ii. 4,) that the water of the Euphrates is reddish, and not so hard as that of the Tigris, which is whitish like the Loire. (See our foot note in p. 62.)

SECT III.—THE LAND OF HAVILAH.

"The Pishon," it is said in Gen. ii. 11, 12, "compasses the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is *bdolach* and the stone *shoham*." If, as we have endeavoured to shew in the former section, the Pishon is the river Phasis, then the land of Havilah,¹ can be no other than Colchis. And this conclusion is supported, not only by the similarity of the two names in their essential sounds,² but also by the circumstance, that, according to the most ancient traditions, the Colchian Phasis was a river, which both yielded gold itself, and led to the gold country. It was to this river

that the Argonauts repaired, to carry off the golden fleece.^a Strabo relates,³ that in the country of the Soanes, a people of Colchis, the mountain streams yielded gold, which was collected in perforated troughs and wool skins; whence perhaps arose the tradition of the golden fleece. The second product of the land of Havilah, viz. *bdolach*, is most probably *bdellium*, called by the Greeks *bdolchon*, a precious gum highly esteemed by the ancients, which, when burned as frankincense, gives forth an aromatic perfume.^b The stone *shoham* is taken by some for the *smaragdus*, by others with greater probability, for the *onyx*. It is true that Greek and Roman writers do not specify *bdellium* and precious stones among the productions of Colchis. But Reland⁴ has correctly remarked, that the southern Asiatics may have included under the name of Havilah, a much larger tract than what the people of the north designated as Colchis; it may have been as undefined in its limits and extent, as was Scythia to the Greeks and Romans. Now the gems of Scythia, especially the *smaragdus*, were highly valued by the ancients.⁵ The Hebrews seem to have considered Havilah as an India of the north, or of Pontus, of which the Christian writers of the first century make

^a Hence the ancients proverbially called a dangerous voyage, "sailing to the Phasis."—M.

^b Another opinion makes *bdolach* to be the *pearl*.—M.

mention, as they also do of a Pontian or northern *Æthiopia*.⁶

The ancient Colchis extended from the Black Sea to Georgia, and comprised the territories which are now called Mingrelia⁷ and Gurriel.^a The country gradually rises from the sea-shore; the soil is very unequal, partly level, partly hilly and mountainous, and almost entirely covered with wood. The trees, says Chardin,⁸ propagate here so rapidly, that were not care taken to extirpate the roots in the fields and roads, the country would, in a short time, become one impenetrable forest. The climate is very temperate, it is subject neither to tempests nor thunder-storms, and even hail is rare. But the atmosphere is uncommonly moist; and there is almost constant rain. In summer, the heat of the sun operating on the dampness of the soil, raises noxious vapours, which engender the plague and other fatal disorders. To foreigners the climate is peculiarly pernicious; they become weak and emaciated; and the natives themselves seldom reach the age of sixty.^b Chardin says, that venomous animals lose in Mingrelia much of the virulence of their poison, and he ascribes this to the dampness of the air.

^a So in the original; but should it not be Guria?—the *Gurriel* is the name of their prince.—M.

^b All this strikingly agrees with the account of Colchis given by Hippocrates.—M.

Almost all kinds of fruit grow wild; but from the want of proper culture, it is commonly insipid. Wine is produced everywhere in the greatest abundance. The vines attach themselves to the trees, their tendrils climbing to the highest tops. The wine would be the best in the world, if the Mingrelians knew how to manufacture it. The country is rich in horses; they are of a good quality, and reared at no expense, as they are allowed to range at will in the extensive pastures. Great havoc is often committed among them and the cattle, by the hyænas, jackals, and wolves, which come down from the wild dells of the Caucasus.

Mingrelia is governed by its own prince, who styles himself Lord of Egeria, (an ancient name of the country) and has for his subjects a professedly Christian, but very barbarous and marauding people, whose vices Chardin depicts in the darkest colours. “The entire population of Mingrelia,” says Reineggs,⁹ “is between eleven and twelve thousand families; they have the reputation of great bravery when fighting on horseback, and this, indeed, is the sum of their good qualities; for, as they live under a very mild climate, and occupy a most fruitful soil, which yields all the necessaries of life in abundance, and without much labour, they give themselves wholly up to listlessness and inactivity. Though their fertile fields lie on the

shores of the Euxine Sea, yet to navigation, trade, and fishing, the Mingrelians are utter strangers. Though mountains and rivers freely offer their treasures, yet they confine themselves to the care of bees and the rearing of cattle. They apply to the tillage of the ground only in so far as their necessities require, and gardening they altogether neglect, their fruitful soil spontaneously producing kitchen vegetables, fruits, grapes, and forests of chesnut trees, and all the old walls being covered with pomegranate and fig trees. The cultivation of silk in this country might be very flourishing and profitable; but it is only the indolent amusement of princesses and other females of noble families. The uncommonly fine forests of Mingrelia are neglected; the trees moulder through age, the inhabitants not requiring the wood for fuel, and allowing it to lie useless. The Mingrelians, however, are very active in religious ceremonies, and as their own language has no alphabet of its own, they make use of the Georgian prayer books.”^a

1. חַוִּילָה, Chavilah. Two countries and people of this name (the latter of different descent), are also mentioned, Gen. x. 7, 29; 1 Sam. xv. 7. But since these, as we shall afterwards see, belonged to Arabia, and our present inquiry evidently leads us to the north

^a Comp. with this account *Lugorio*, Lettres sur la Mingrelie, in the *Annales des Voyages*, Tom. ix.—M.

(see § II., p. 54), they do not now come under consideration.

2. At quomodo, dicet aliquis, ex Chavila potest fieri Colchis? Ea difficultas facilis superatu est, si attendamus ad scriptionem utriusque vocis orientalem: nam aut easdem literas radicales, aut literas ejusdem organi inter se mutatas continent. Qui enim sine praejudicio vocem חולח *Cholch*, unde addita terminatione *is*, *Colchis*, confert cum חליל *Chavila*, facile videt, non adeo magnam esse inter has duas differentiam, quin longe majores admittere debeamus in aliis regionum et urbium nominibus, quae aut ab incolis, aut ab exteris, a prima pronuntiatione detorta sunt. Quam levis est mutatio ח in ח ? Sunt literae ejusdem organi, et ח in fine a Graecis legi non poterat: debuit itaque mutari. In quam convenientius, quam ח ? Inter ח enim et ח nil est, nisi differens gradus aspirationis. Ille minor, haec major est. Dein Κόλχης dixere per Κ , quod durum esset Graecis auribus Χόλχης , ad vitandam *κακοφωνίαν*, ut: φασέκ pro חפפ , 2 Chron. xxx. 15, et 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 6, scripsere Graeci interpretes, et κάβιλος a חביל ductum, et *Ἀννακος* a חניק , et 1 Reg. xi. 20, Δεκεμίνης ex חפניס . *Relandi Dissertatt. P. I. p. 17.*

3. Book xv. p. 499. *Casaubon's* Edit. Comp. Book I. p. 45.

4. *Reland* says in the Diss. quoted, p. 16: Ea nos tenet opinio, quod latior terrae tractus per Chavilam possit intelligi, si attendamus ad tempora Mosis, quum incogniti essent tractus septentrionales, nec tam distincte regionum termini, uti postea, quando Scythia in Europaeam et Asiaticam, et utraque in varias re-

giones distingui coepit. Nam et seculo Augustaeo quam exigua fuerit notitia terrarum ultra Phasin et Colchida sitarum, monumenta veterum Geographorum satis ostendunt. Quae quum ita sint, non puto nos nimis religiosos esse debere, et terram Chavilah praecise definire iisdem terminis, quibus Colchis vulgo definiri solet, sed latius licere nobis excurrere in Septentrionalem Asiam, ne videamur nos, praecise, Colchidi illa velle vindicare, quae Scythiae generatim, aut illis Scythiae partibus, quae mari Caspio propius adjacent, veteres videntur attribuisse.

5. *Pliny*, in his *Nat. Hist.* lxxxvii. 5, says, Nobilissimi (Smaragdi) Scythici, ab ea gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati; et quantum Smaragdi a ceteris gemmis distant, tantum Scythici a ceteris Smaragdis. A precious kind of sapphire or *lapis lazuli* was procured from the Sapiri, a Scythian tribe, in the country of modern Georgia. *Ritter's* *Erdkunde*, II. p. 923.

6. See *Ritter's* learned researches on Colchana Septentrionalis and the Interior India, or India of Pontus, in his *Erdkunde*, II. p. 926, 930.

7. According to *Reineggs* (Description of the Caucasus, P. ii. p. 23.) Ming-reul or Ming-rewl, signifies in the Parthian language *a thousand springs* or clear rivulets, and thus describes a region that is verdant and blooming in consequence of the number of streams by which it is watered: upon this *Klaproth* remarks, (Travels, ii. p. 25.) "The name Mingrelia is very ancient; for even Ptolemy knew the nation of the *Maurali*. And *Reineggs* is very unfortunate in his etymology, when he derives it from the Parthian.

For, in the *first* place, it is difficult to comprehend how the natives themselves, and the Europeans who lived towards the west, came to impose upon this land a foreign name, which came from the south-east ; and, in the second place, it is natural to ask how did *Reineggs* become acquainted with the Parthian language, which is now almost extinct ? It certainly was not a Tartar dialect ; and yet it is only in Tartar that *مینگ*, *ming* signifies a *thousand*. If the Parthians used the Pehlevi tongue (which is highly probable), the word for a thousand in that language is *ragh* ; and in that case the etymology of *Reineggs* falls to the ground. The Mingrelians call themselves *Kadzarivi*, from Kadzaro, a buck.

8. Voyages, Edit. of Langles, I. p. 150. The description which Chardin has given of Mingrelia is still the completest and best we possess.

9. As cited above, p. 29.

SECT IV.—THE LAND OF CUSH.

The country which was compassed by the second stream proceeding from the river of Paradise, was called in Hebrew *Cush* ;¹ a name that has been well rendered by Luther, *Mohrenland*, i. e. the Land of the Blacks ; for it appears from a passage in the prophecies of Jeremiah,² that a *Cushite* was the same as “ a man of colour.” The Hebrews, however, employed the name *Cush* in a narrow and in a more extended signification,

in much the same way as we do the word India. In the more limited sense, Cush was synonymous with Æthiopia, as well the African as the Asiatic. In the wider acceptation, Cush denoted *all the countries of the South*, or the Torrid Zone, in an undefined extent from west to east, the inhabitants being distinguished by the black or dusky colour of their skin. If the ancient Hebrews had any knowledge of the regions on the Indus and Ganges, there is no doubt that they included them likewise under the general designation of Cush.³ It is in this most extended sense of the term that we understand it in Gen. ii. 13, when it is said *that the river Gihon compasseth the whole land of Cush*.⁴

1. כורש. *Buttmann* in his *Aelt. Erdk. des Morgenl.* p. 40, note, derives this word from the root כורח *kava, kau, ku*, which signifies *to burn*, and with which other roots are connected, such as כור, a melting furnace or crucible. But this derivation is opposed to all the rules of analogy in the formation of Hebrew proper names.

2. Jerem. xiii. 23. דודמך כרשי עורו. Can a black change his skin?

3. Cush corresponds, as *Buttmann*, (*ibid.* p. 39) has correctly remarked, to the Greek name Æthiopia. The one like the other is "originally merely the fixed appellation of the *Extreme South*; the region

which, according to the belief of the ancients, lay close upon the fiery zone, and the inhabitants of which were black, from being exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. Each nation placed its Cushites or Æthiopians to the south, throughout the whole of the earth's longitude, as known to them; so that the inhabitants of the region of the Euphrates would regard them as occupying the south coasts of Asia generally." "From Homer to Eratosthenes," says Voss (on Virgil's Georgics, p. 306,) "the earth, at first thought round, afterwards oblong, was divided by an imaginary line, drawn from east to west into two halves; the one to the south included Asia and Libya, that to the north being Europe; along the borders of the southern part of the circle was placed Æthiopia, which came gradually to comprize Colchians, Medes, Persians, Indians, Seres, Arabians, Pygmæi, and Macrobiani." Comp. Hartmann on Asia, Vol. i. p. 263.

4. Rosenmüller finding it impossible to reconcile his notion of Cush being in the extreme south, with the opinion, expressed in a former section, of the Gihon being the Oxus, a river of the north, places the discrepancy to the account of the "ignorance of the early Hebrews of the geography of remote countries;" an explanation which is subversive of the authority of the entire narrative, and which, therefore, I have not scrupled to omit.—M.

SECT V.—ASSHUR OR ASSYRIA.

Throughout the Old Testament, Assyria is designated by the name of *Asshur*.¹ In Gen. ii. 14, it is said that the Hiddekel or Tigris, goes towards the fore-side of Asshur,² i. e. it flows to the east of Assyria. Yet the country commonly known as Assyria lay on the east side of the Tigris, and not on the west. Attempts have been made to solve the difficulty in various ways. Some suppose, that as Assyria was beyond the Tigris to the Hebrews, that river might be said to flow before Assyria.³ Others remark that Assyria was of very different extent at different periods,⁴ and was not confined to the east of the Tigris, but was sometimes held to include a part of Aram, or Syria.⁵

1. אשור.

2. חידקל הוא החלך קדמת אשור.

3. So J. D. Michaelis translates: "The Tigris, this is the river that flows before Assyria;" and he adds in a note "the Tigris forms the western boundary of Assyria; hence, as Moses wrote in Arabia, it flowed *before* Assyria in reference to him." Yet, in the only other three places where קדמו occurs, viz. Gen. iv. 16. 1 Sam. xiii. 5. Ezek. xxxix. 11; it seems clearly to denote "towards the east." Jarchi paraphrases אשור קדמת אשור by למזרחה של אשור on the eastern district of Asshur. See above chap. i. 2.

4. See Wahl's Asia, p. 304, *note*. "Assyriæ vox, says Huet, in his Tract de Situ Parad. p. 58 of the Leipzig Edit.—duobus modis, vel in sensu strictiori, vel in sensu latiori magis intelligi potest. In stricto, Assyria provincia erat, angustis satis terminis circumscripta, in qua metropolis erat Ninive, et ista est provincia, quae Adiabene postea dicta fuit. Sed in sensu latiori magis Assyria plures easque magnas provincias complectebatur, regi Assyriæ subjectas et ejus imperium constituentes. In quocumque demum sensu Assyria accipitur, certum est, Tigridem ejus respectu non fuisse ad Orientem. Huet, following the Septuagint, (ὁ προσηυδόμενος κατὰναντι Ἀσσυρίαν) renders: "*qui vadit versus Assyriam*."^a Buttmann (Aelteste Erdk. p. 48,) thinks it strange that while the Euphrates is mentioned without any adjunct as being well-known, a minuter description should have been given of its twin-stream the Tigris. But until the carrying away of the ten tribes into Assyria, the Jews must have been imperfectly acquainted with the countries on the Tigris; whereas the Euphrates was generally an accessible object, especially to the two tribes and a half who were located to the east of Jordan.

5. Rosenmüller solves the perplexity here on the same principle as in the last section. See Translator's note there, (No. 4).—M.

§ VI.—THE LAND OF NOD.

When Cain, after the murder of his brother, went forth "from the presence of Jehovah,"¹ he

^a Grabe's Edition has προσηυδόμενος. The Vulgate translates "*ipse vadit contra Assyrios*."—M.

settled in the land of Nod, which lay to the east of Eden,² Gen. iv. 16. The word *Nod* signifies in Hebrew *wandering, flight, banishment*;³ and the region doubtless obtained that name from the circumstance of the fratricide having been condemned by God (ver. 14,) to wander as a fugitive or exile.⁴ To ascertain the precise situation of the land of Nod is now impossible, ignorant as we are of the exact position of Eden itself. The Hebrews would naturally look for it towards the extreme east of Asia; and if they had any knowledge of the extensive *steppes* of Tartary, they would, in all probability, place the land of Nod there.⁵

1 ויצא קין מלפני יהוה. At a later period likewise, this phrase "to go forth from Jehovah," implied "to go into a foreign land" where Jehovah was not. The prophet Jonah, when he betook himself to Tarshish, "went out from Jehovah's presence." Jon. i. 3, 10.

2 וישב בארץ נוד קדמת עון. The Sept. and Josephus call Nod, *Naid*. On קדמת, see the last sect, note 3.

3. The Arabic نود, which corresponds to the Hebrew root נוד signifies *motus, agitatedus fuit, nutavit*; and the cognate term نڈ *fugax fuit, aufugit, huc illuc vagatus est*. Hasse (Entdeckungen, Part ii. p. 33,) renders נוד ארץ a land of exile, a foreign or barbarous country. Buttmann (Aelt. Erd. p. 56,) translates

“ a land of misery ;” remarking that the root whence *Nod* is derived, is sometimes found to involve this idea. See Jer. xxii. 10.

4. וְהָיִיתִי נֹדֵד בְּאֶרֶץ.

5. This is also the idea of *Buttmann*, (ibid. p. 58.)

“ The Asiatic of the south must have heard of innumerable Nomadic tribes who roved through the interior of Asia, and especially over the eastern region ; he must have known something of the interminable *steppes*, the southernmost of which began due east of Cashmere.” It may however be objected to this view, that Cain himself was a “ tiller of the ground,” Gen. iv. 2, and his descendants are described as inventors of the arts, a circumstance which would be more characteristic of persons accustomed to a town life than of wandering hordes.* And, indeed, Cain himself is said to have built *a city*. See the next section. Huet (de Situ Parad. p. 62,) finds Nod in the south-east of Persia ; Grotius in Arabia Felix ; Calmet in Nysa or Nysæa towards Hyrcania ; Michaelis towards China ; Hasse in the mountains of Caucasus.

§ VII.—THE CITY OF ENOCH OR CHANOCH.

The first city which is mentioned in the Bible, is Chanoch,¹ in the English version *Enoch*, built by Cain, and so called after his son, Gen. iv. 17. The country where this city was founded is not expressly mentioned ; but as it is said

* Yet one of Cain's posterity, *Jabal*, is mentioned as the first who followed the nomadic pastoral life. Gen. iv. 20.—M.

in the former verse, that Cain dwelt in the land of Nod, it is natural to conclude that it was there he built this city. Yet as we are ignorant of the situation of the land of Nod, the location of the city of Chanoch must also remain unknown.²

1. חֲנוֹךְ. J. E. Faber, in his *Archæology of the Hebrews*, Part. i. p. 36, will have the Hebrew word עִיר in this place to signify not a *city* but a *cave* like the Arab. غار, so that Cain and his descendants were Troglodytes. But this is improbable for various reasons. First, it is opposed to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, for in all other places of the Old Testament עִיר unquestionably signifies a *city*. Then, a cave does not need to be *built*; it is either *found* prepared by nature, or has to be *dug*; but it is expressly said that Cain *built* יבֵן Chanoch. Finally, to give a name to a city is usual, and almost necessary, but not so to a cave. *Faber* had been anticipated in his opinion by *Perizonius*,^a who, in his *Orig. Babylon*, cap.

^a The opinion is likewise defended by *Bellermann*, both in his *Bibl. Archaeology*, p. 162, and his *Bibl. Geography* (*Handbuch*, Vol. ii. p. 160.) If we could derive עִיר from the root עָרַר *to be deep, to lie deep* (a sense obsolete in Hebrew, but existing in Arabic, as given by Gesenius under עָר, No. III.) then the opinion of *Perizonius* would have considerable plausibility. It is from that root that the word מְעָרָה comes, which certainly means a *cave*, Gen. xix. 30. 1 Sam. xxiv. 4, 8; and various cognate Arabic terms convey the

iii. p. 35, understands by עִיר not a town according to our ideas of it, but a secure habitation, *perpetuum in terra, quam colendam maxime elegerat, domicilium.*

same general idea of a *hollow* or *cavity*. Nay some think that עִיר itself must have this signification in Ps. xxxi. 22, where David is speaking of God's kindness to him, not in a "strong city," but in the cave where he lived when persecuted by Saul. It is difficult to see how a city could be erected previous to the discovery of metallurgy and its kindred arts, which, however, were not invented till the days of Tubal-Cain, Gen. iv. 22. His paternal brother Jabal was the first to dwell in a tent (ver. 20), which, upon the supposition of cities already existing, would have been a retrograde movement in civilization and social refinement. All this tends to the conjecture, that Cain's erection was nothing more than the strengthening of a rocky fastness to protect himself from the dreaded vengeance of men, ver. 14. Even after the flood, we find Noah still in a *tent* (Gen. ix. 21), and he speaks of the *tents* of Shem, ver. 27. But caves were among the first habitations, and long continued to be peculiar to certain tribes. The Greeks called such persons Troglodytæ (from τρωγδλη a cave, and δυμι to enter), and the Arabs style them "companions of the rock." The invention of tents by Jabal would be deemed an improvement upon so rude an abode; yet in particular situations (such as the ancient Petra, in Wady Mousa, recently described by Burckhardt and others) such dwellings were occupied for ages; and in many parts of the world they are not yet abandoned. Morier informs us (in his Second Journey, p. 396), that through a great part of Armenia and Georgia the houses answer in description to those mentioned by Xenophon as being there in his day. "The inhabitants make a considerable excavation, which, according to the nature of the ground, gives them one, two, or three sides of their house, and then build up the remainder with huge stones like Cyclopean walls; upon this they lay very thick rafters, and then cover the whole with earth in so solid a manner that it is difficult to say if you are walking upon a house

He adds that the first strongholds of this description were caves, referring to Pliny, Hist Nat. VII. 56. *Specus erant pro domibus*; and to Ovid who, in his picture of the Silver Age, (Metamorph. I. 121,) says :

“ Tum primum subiere domus, domus antra fuerunt.”

2. As to the meaning of Chanoch, see *Michaelis* Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 840 [No. 783, 784]. *Beller-*man, Handbuch der Bibl. Literat. Part ii. p. 161. *Butt-*mann, Aelt. Erdk. p. 59. *Huet*, finding the land of Nod in Susiana, takes Chanoch for the town of Anuchta, mentioned by Ptolemy. He says (de Situ Parad. p.

top or upon the bare ground. They only leave one aperture at the top, which lights the room inhabited by the family.” The valley of Bameean, in Afghanistan, is likewise famous for its inhabited caves. They occur in all parts of the valley for about eight miles, and a detached hill in the middle of it is quite honey-combed by them. It is called the city of Ghoolghoola, and consists of a continual succession of caves in every direction, which are said to have been the work of a king named Julal. Similar caves are dug on both sides of the valley, but the greater number lie on the northern face. The excavations themselves have no pretensions to architectural ornament, being no more than squared holes cut in the hill. Some, however, are finished in the shape of a dome, and have a carved frieze below the point from which the cupola rises. The hills being formed of indurated clay and pebbles, their excavation cannot have been a matter of great difficulty; but the extent to which it has been carried excites astonishment. Taken together, these caves form an immense city; and they are still the residence of the greater part of the population. See *Burnes' Travels*; and compare the accounts given by writers on Sicily, of the Vale of Ipsica in that island.—M.

62): Notum est syllabam *tha* nomen *Anuchta* terminantem, usitatam in lingua Chaldaica esse nominum femininorum terminationem, neque partem ipsius nominis facere. Superest igitur tantum *Anuch*, quae citra difficultatem id ipsum, quod *Enoch*, est. *Hasse*, who places the land of Nod in or near the Caucasus, recognizes in Chanoch the Heniochi, a Caucasian tribe mentioned by Strabo, II. p. 192 ; XI. 752 (Cassaubon's Edit.), and Pliny's Nat. Hist. VI. 10 and 12, [Comp. Ptol. V. 9. Pomponius Mela, I. 19. Pseudo Berosus, and after him Adrichomius, place Chanoch under the name of Hanochia, on the east side of Lebanon, opposite Damascus. *Bohlen*, (Exposit. of Genesis. Königsberg, 1835, p. 59), thinks of the town of Chanoge, in Sanscrit Kanyâkubya, in the north of India, called by the ancients Canogyza.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

A SYNOPTICAL VIEW

OF THE PRINCIPAL OPINIONS REGARDING THE SITE OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

(BY THE TRANSLATOR.)

Hebrew Names.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
עֶדֶן Eden.	Armenia.	Korneh in Babilonia.	Country near the Caspian Sea.	Bactria.	Syria.	Country between the Ganges and Nile.	Bameean.	India.	Cashmere.
פִּישׁוֹן Pishon.	The Phasis.	Western mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.	The Araxes.	The Sihon, or Jaxartes.	The Chrysorrhoa.	The Ganges.	The Nilab, or Lesser Sind.	The Irabatti.	The Phasia.
גִּיחוֹן Gihon.	The Araxes.	Eastern mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.	The Oxus, or Jihoon.	The Oxus, or Jihoon.	The Orontes.	The Nile.	The Hirmend.	The Gangea.	The Oxus.
חִדְדֵּקֶל Chiddkel.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	River of Bah-lac.	The Indus.	The Tigris.
פְּרָת Phrath.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	River of Cud-nuz.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.
חֲוִילָה Chavilah.	Colchis.	Arabia Felix.	Chwala on the West of the Caspian.	Chworasmia.	Chavilah in Arabia.	India.	Cabul.	Ava.	Colchia.
כּוּשׁ Cush.	Land of the Cossel.	Chusistan, or Sustana.	Chowrasmia, on the E. of the Caspian.	Hindoo-coosh.	Cassiotis.	Nubia and Abyssinia.	Cusha.	The Extreme South.	Bactria.
אַשּׁוּר Ashur.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Hazarah.	Assyria.	Assyria?

NOTE EXPLANATORY OF THE PREFIXED TABLE.

THE question regarding the site of Paradise has naturally excited much curiosity; yet must it be confessed that it has also led to many wild and useless speculations, which have hitherto terminated in no satisfactory result.

The fundamental error of most inquirers seems to be, that they consider the description as having necessarily a reference to certain countries, rivers, and other localities which still actually exist on the face of the globe. But the correctness of this supposition may justly be doubted. It does not in the least affect the authenticity or the divine origin of the early part of the book of Genesis, to believe that it embodies traditionary or written documents of a much earlier date than the age of Moses, and which were incorporated by him into his history, as being of equal authority with what came under his own observation, or was directly revealed to him by God. The apostle Jude (ver. 14,) seems to intimate that there was a series of inspired men from Adam downwards.* If, then, we may suppose the whole account of Paradise to be an *inspired antediluvian document*, referring exclusively to a state of things which the deluge swept away,—the difficulty of reconciling the account with existing topography will immediately vanish. It is true that we find some of the names of countries and rivers there mentioned to have been afterwards applied to countries and rivers of the world after the flood; but what was more natural than for Noah's posterity to give the same names to objects in the new world which had been given to similar objects by their antediluvian ancestry? The identity of the *objects*, however, does by no means follow, from the mere identity of the names. In fact, almost every name of a river or country which occurs in the description of Paradise, was applied to more than one river or country in the postdiluvian world. Thus *Pishon* denotes a *stream* generally, and Gihon or Jihoon (from a word that

* Among whom was Noah. 2 Pet. ii. 5.

signifies *to break forth*,) was also etymologically the designation of a river; and though now used pre-eminently of the Oxus, is also a prefix to oriental names of the Araxes, the Ganges, &c.; it was likewise the name of a rivulet or water-course at Jerusalem, 1 Kings i. 38. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14. In the Hiddekel some find the root both of the Iadus (Hid Hind) and the Dijlat or Tigris. There were two Havilahs, one inhabited by a Shemite tribe, Gen. x. 29, the other by a Hamite, Gen. x. 7. The various significations of *Cush* form one of the chief perplexities in Bible geography; and we find the name of Eden itself given to more than one district in the east.

In the above Synoptical Table, I have presented a view of the leading opinions of those who endeavour to connect the description of Paradise with existing localities. Every one of the schemes is open to the objection, that nowhere do four great rivers, corresponding to those of the narrative, issue from one common source. Gen. ii. 10.

I. The opinion which fixes Eden in *Armenia*, I have placed first, because it is that which has obtained most general support, and seems nearest the truth. For if we may suppose, that while Cain moved to the east (Gen. iv. 16,) the posterity of Seth remained in the neighbourhood of the primæval seat of mankind, and that Noah's ark rested not very far from the place of his former abode, then Mount Ararat in Armenia becomes a connecting point between the antediluvian and postdiluvian worlds, (Gen. viii. 4,) and the names of the *Frat*, *Hiddekel*, &c. would readily be given to rivers, which, after the great deluge, seemed to flow in channels somewhat corresponding to those of the paradisaical streams. The opinion in question was first systematically propounded by a Dutch divine, *Reland*, (born 1676, died 1718) in his *Dissertt. Miscell.* i. 1, (to be found also in *Ugolini Thesaur.* Vol. vii.) and is held by *Calmet* and many others. The *Cossæi*, whom he finds in *Cush*, are mentioned by *Strabo*, XI. 522, XVI. 744. *Diod. Sic.* XVII. 111. They lived near *Media*, in the tract now called *Dilem*, south-west of the *Caspian Sea*. *Link* (in his *Urwelt*, I. 307) takes the *Gihon* for the *Kur* or *Cyrus*, and *Cush* for the *Caucasus*.

Verbrugge in his *Orat. de Situ Paradis.* coincides with *Reland*, only that he takes the *Gihon* to be the *Gyndes*, which flowed between *Armenia* and *Matiana*. See *Herodot.* I. 189.*

II. This opinion will be found most elaborately defended by *Huet*, the famous Bishop of *Avranches*, in the *Dissert. de Situ Parad. Terrest.* contained in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*; but it is also maintained by *Calvin*, *Bochart*, *Wells*, *Steph. Morinus*, *Vorst*, &c. *Hales* was of this sentiment in the first edition of his *Chronology*, but in the second he follows the opinion of *Reland*. The *Shat-al-Arab* is the name of the united stream of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. *Cush* they compare with the *Cuthah* of 2 Kings xvii. 24; and *Chavilah* with the *Καυλαταις* of *Eratosthenes* in *Strabo*, XVI. 767. *Grotius* (on *Gen.* ii.) thinks the *Pishon* is the *Pasitigris* and the *Gihon*, the *Nahar-Malca* or the *Chaboras*. *Hottinger* (*Enneas Dissert.* p. 64) agrees with *Grotius* as to the *Pishon*, but takes the *Gihon* for the *Nahar Sura*. *Hopkinson*, in his *Descriptio Paradisi* (*Ugolin. Thes.* Vol. vii.) makes the *Pishon* and *Gihon* to be the two canals of the *Euphrates*, the *Nahar-Malca*, and the *Moar Sares*.

III. The celebrated *Göttingen* professor, *J. D. Michaelis*, originated this hypothesis in his *Spicileg. Geogr.* and his *Supp. ad Lex. Hebb.*, though he is doubtful as to some of the points. *Gatterer* (in *Comment. in Acta Goett.*) in the main agrees with him, only he understands the *Hiddekel* to be the *Indus*, and takes the *Pishon* for the *Phasis*. *Cush* is found by *Michaelis* in the name of the city of *Cath* or *Caths*, the ancient capital of *Chowrasmia*, on the *Oxus* or *Jihoon*, near the site of *Balkh*. (See *Burnes' Travels.*) He refers to *Quint. Curtius* (VII. 5, 1,) as speaking of the *Cusæi* or *Cusitani* being in *Bactria* upon the *Oxus*. *Wahl*, in his work on *Asia*, (p. 529,) sees *Cush* in the *Khousti* of *Moses* of *Chorene*, (*Hist. Armen.* p. 363,) meaning the large province between the *Caspian* and *Persian Seas*, as far as the *Indus* and *Oxus*.

* This is also the opinion of *Faber*, in his *Origin of Pagan Idoltry*, I. p. 303. He takes the *Pishon* for the *Absarus* of *Pliny*, the modern *Batoun*.

The land of Chavilah, Michaelis connects with the tribe of Chwaliski or Chwalisses, from whom the Russians call the Caspian Sea the Chwalinskoie More.

IV. This theory has been proposed by the eminent orientalist *Von Hammer*, in the periodical called the *Wiener Jahrbuch d. Liter.* (Vienna Annual Register of Literat.) for 1820, p. 21. The *Sihon*, says he, rises near the town of *Cha*, and compasses the land of *Ilah*, famous for the gold and precious stones of Turkistan. Comp. *Jahn* in *Bertholdt's Journal*, ix. 327.

V. That Paradise was in *Syria*, was the opinion of the voluminous *Le Clerc*, in his Comment. on Genesis. Chavilah is the tract mentioned, 1 Sam. xv. 7. Cush is Cassiotis or Mons Casius near Seleucia in Syria. Strabo, XVI. 750, 755. Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 8. This opinion is shared by Lake-macher (*Observ. Philol.* V. p. 195,) who, however, takes the Pishon to be the Jordan. Heidegger (in *Exercitt. in Hist. Patriarch.* IV. 42,) thinks the Jordan was the great river of Paradise, an idea adopted by the paradoxical Hardouin, in his *Excursus* to Pliny's *Nat. Hist. Lib.* VI. Others who place Eden in Arabia Felix, transform the Pishon into the Persian Gulf, and the Gihon into the Red Sea.

VI. This is perhaps the most ancient opinion of any, being found in Josephus (*Antiq.* I. 1, 3), and in several of the Fathers, e. g. Theophilus Autol. II. 24. Epiphan. (*Epp.* II. 60). Philostorgus in Nicephor. *Hist. Eccl.* IX. 19; though the latter takes the Pishon for the Indian river Hypasis. Plin. II. 75. The Greeks also speak of a supposed connection between the Nile and eastern rivers. Arrian, *Alex.* VI. 1, 3. Pausan. *Corinth.* II. 5. Comp. Gesenius *Thesaur.* I. 282. The idea of the Gihon being the Nile, probably originated with the Jews of Alexandria, Cush being naturally taken for African Æthiopia. Comp. *Ecclesiasticus* xxiv. 37.

VII. Captain Wilford, well known for his profound acquaintance with Hindoo antiquities, advanced the present view, as being founded upon the Indian Puranas. See the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 455, of the London edition. It was partly adopted by a late ingenious but fanciful writer, Mr.

Charles Taylor, editor of Calmet's Dictionary—who, however, makes the Pishon the Nilab; the Gihon, the western branch of the Oxus; the Hiddekel, the eastern, and the Frat, the Hirmend. See his Fragments to Calmet, No. 505, 506, &c.

VIII. This and the following are given as specimens of the views of the modern German school of Neology, which regards the whole narrative as a *mythos*, similar to the Greek tradition of the Hesperides, the Islands of the Blest, &c. Philip Buttmann is the author of the hypothesis under the present number in his work, entitled, *Aelteste Erdkunde d. Morgenlandes*. Berlin 1803. The Pishon he compares with the Besynga (*Βέσυγγα*) which is mentioned by Ptolemy (VII. 2), as the most considerable river of India, east of the Ganges. Ava was early known as a region of gold; and an anonymous geographer, in Hudson's Collection, Vol. iii., speaks of the Eviltæ or Evilei, as being near the Seres or Chinese.

IX. Another neological theory—the author, A. T. Hartmann (in his *Aufklärung, uber Asien*. i. 249), who looks upon the description as a product of the Babylonish or Persian period. The idea of Eden being the far-famed vale of Cashmere, had been anticipated by Herder, in his work on the History of Mankind. The most recent accounts of Cashmere will be found in the Travels of Burnes and Jacquemont.

These, indeed, are but a few of the opinions that have been propounded; yet though many more might be added, it is to be observed, that most of them have much in common, and differ only in some of the details. To enumerate the vagaries of our German neighbours on this subject would be endless. When Rudbeck, a Swede, placed Eden in Scandinavia, and the Siberians told the Czar Peter that it was in Siberia, these became topics of constant ridicule among German scholars; and yet one of their own number proposed a no less extravagant hypothesis, which was made matter of serious discussion, and has been honoured with more than one elaborate refutation. This was Hasse, in his "*Entdeckungen*," &c., i. e. Discoveries in the oldest History of the Earth and of Mankind. Halle, 1801. His great discovery is, that the site of Paradise was in

Prussia, on the shores of the Baltic ! the *bdolach* or bdellium being the amber which there abounds. He believes that the Caspian and Euxine were once united, and flowed into the Baltic by one great river, the Eridanus. Havilah he compares with the *Ῥαία* of Herodotus (IV. 9, 20, 76), in the extreme north, near the Arimaspiæ (the river with golden sands), and the golden country which was guarded by the griffins. And this name *Ῥαία* he connects with *ἰαλός*, glass or amber a substance which he likewise finds etymologically described in the *shocham* (onyx-stone.) He maintains that the temperature of the north has been lowered by some great physical revolution, for that originally it was the region of warmth ; the trees yielded amber as resin, and bore fruits so beneficial to health, that they might well be called *trees of life*. All this absurdity is based upon the fanciful traditions of the Greeks regarding Hyperboræa, on the northern ocean, being the birth place of gods and men, and the abode of longevity and peace. But the reason for this belief, as well as for the Hebrews and other nations connecting the appearances of deity with the north, will be found in the present work, Chap. i.

2. The theory of Hasse has been confuted with an unnecessary waste of erudition by Hartmann, in his *Aufklärungen über Asien*, Book i. p. 3.

One of the most elaborate inquirers is a Swiss writer *Schulthess*, in a work entitled *Das Paradies, &c., i. e. Paradise* the terrestrial and super-terrestrial, historical, mythical, and mystical. Zurich, 1816. He takes the Pishon for the Indus, and the Gihon for the Astaboras or Jaccazè, a large river of Abyssinia, which falls into the Nile. He illustrates at length the ancient notion of a Paradise out of the earth and beyond the ocean. It was very prevalent in the middle age. *Cosmas Indicopleustes* says : " The earth, which we inhabit, is surrounded by the ocean ; but beyond the ocean is found another earth ; there was the first man formed, there was Paradise, and there the flood came down upon Noah." *Collectio Nova Patr.* Vol. ii. p. 161. The conjecture of another writer of that age has at least the merit of originality. *Ephrem* the Syrian says, in speaking of the rivers of Paradise : "*Quamvis loca, unde fluvii*

orumpunt nota sint, alius tamen fons est unde primum scaturiunt. Paradisus enim procul in editissimo loco positus est. Inde ergo delapsi circa ipsum paradisum cuniculis recepti se conduunt continuoque cursu velut e sublimi scatobra mare subeuntes perque ejus fundum transvecti distinctis fontibus tandem prosiliunt." He takes the Danube to be the Pishon, and the Nile to be the Gihon. Comp. Theodoret. Quest. in Genes. xxix.

Frege, in his Geogr. Handbuch, places Eden in the tract which is now occupied by the Caspian Sea, supposing it to have been submerged like the valley of Sodom. *Sickler* (in Augusti's Theol. Monatschrift, i. p. 75,) thinks that by the נַחֲלֵי or great river was intended the Caspian Sea, and by the ראשֵׁי or heads, the Euxine and other seas. *Raumer*, in the periodical called *Hertha* for 1829 (p. 340,) imagines that the Caspian and Euxine were formerly united, and that by means of the Irtisch, the Petschora, the Dwina, and the Volga, an island was formed, in which lay Paradise. *Autenrieth* again places it in the Islands of the South Sea. Hypotheses no less absurd have been proposed by *Kannegiesser*, in his Grun-driss. der Alterthumswissenschaft, Halle, 1815; by *Latreille* in Memoires sur divers sujets de l'Hist. Natur. des Insectes, Paris 1819, and by many others.

The more ancient opinions will be found discussed in Steph. *Morini* Dissert. de Parad. Terrest. (in the Leyden Edit. of Bochart's Works, Tom. ii.) *Crausii* Dissert. de Potamographia Paradisaica, Jena. 1667. *Teuberi* Dissert. de Paradis. Francof. ad Oder. 1696. *Marckii* Hist. Parad. Illustrata. Amster. 1705. The seventh vol. of Ugolini's Thesaurus Antiqq. contains several of these, along with other treatises on the subject. Modern opinions will be found detailed in *Eichhorn's* Urgeschichte; *Bellermann's* Handbuch d. Bibl. Literatur. i. 46; ii. 148. *Faber's* Archæology, p. 12. *Winer's* Bibl. Realwörterbuch, article Eden, and in the above mentioned work of *Schulthess*.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF NATIONS.

THE tenth chapter of the book of Genesis contains, in the form of a genealogical roll of the descendants of Noah, a scheme of the pedigree of nations in the three divisions of the then known world. For that the names of individuals in that table are intended to represent *nations* is evident, not only from many of them being in the plural number,¹ but from the termination of others being, according to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, descriptive of tribes ;² nay, some of them are never found to occur but as names of countries, such as Aram (Syria,) Havilah, Ophir. Just as Israel and Judah were names both of single persons and of whole nations, so it is with the names that occur in the genealogy in question.³

This table of nations is of high importance and value, as being the most ancient ethnographic document which we possess.⁴ It cannot, as an acute expositor⁵ has observed, have been derived from tradition alone, but must have been the fruit of study and research.

The three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, are exhibited in this genealogical chart as the representatives of the three divisions of the earth, Asia, Africa, and Europe—although not precisely according to the boundaries of modern times. The descendants of Japhet peopled Europe and the north-west of Asia; those of Ham the southern part of the earth, especially Africa; and the Shemites, the countries of central Asia, particularly those around the Euphrates.⁶ This tradition of the division of the earth among Noah's three sons likewise obtains among the Arabs and Persians.⁷

The genealogical table here follows, along with the most probable explanations which have been offered, and which are the result of the researches of Bochart, J. D. Michaelis, and others.⁸

JAPHETITES.

- I. GOMER: the Cimmerians on the north coast of the Black Sea. Their descendants were,
 1. *Ashkenaz*: an unknown people, perhaps between Armenia and the Black Sea.
 2. *Riphat*: the inhabitants of the Riphæan Mountains.
 3. *Thogurmah*: Armenia.
- II. MAGOG: the inhabitants of the Caucasus and adjacent countries—Scythians.

III. MADAI : the Medes.

IV. JAVAN : the Ionians or Greeks. Their descendants were,

1. *Elishah* : the Hellenes, strictly so called.
2. *Tharshish* : Tartessus, in the south of Spain.
3. *Kittim* : the inhabitants of Cyprus, and other Greek islands, with the Macedonians.
4. *Dodanim* : the Dodonæi, in Epirus.

V. TUBAL : the Tibareni, in Pontus.

VI. MESHECH : the Moschi, in the Moschian Mountains, between Iberia, Armenia, and Colchis.

VII. TIRAS : the Thracians, or perhaps the dwellers on the river Tiras, the Dniester.

HAMITES.

I. CUSH : the Æthiopians and Southern Arabians. Their descendants were,

1. *Nimrod*, the first king of Sinear (Shinar,) *i. e.* Babylon and Mesopotamia, where he founded the towns of *Babel*, *Erech*, *i. e.* *Araeca*, (on the borders of Babylon and Susiana,) *Calneh*, *i. e.* Ctesiphon, and *Accad*.
2. *Seba* : Meröe.
3. *Havilah* : the Chaulotæi, in Southern Arabia.
4. *Sabtha* : Sabota, in Southern Arabia.
5. *Ragma* : Rhegma, in the south-east of Arabia,

on the Persian Gulf. Descendants or Colonies were:

a. Sheba, probably a tribe in South Arabia.

b. Dedan: Daden, an island in the Persian Gulf.

6. *Sabthecha*, the inhabitants of the east coast of Æthiopia.

II. MIZRAIM: the Egyptians. Their descendants were,

1. *Ludim*, } probably African tribes.
2. *Ananim* }

3. *Lehabim* or *Lubim*: the Libyans.

4. *Naphtuchim*: the inhabitants of the province of Nephtys, on the Lake of Sirbo, on the borders of Egypt and Asia.

5. *Patrusim*: the inhabitants of the Egyptian canton of Pathures, (Pathros.)

6. *Casluchim*: the Colchians. Their descendants or colonies were,

a. Philistim, the Philistines.

b. Caphtorim, the Cretans.

III. PHUT: the Mauritanians.

IV. CANAAN: the inhabitants of the country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan, from Sidon to the south end of the Dead Sea. Their descendants were,

1. The *Sidonians*, on the northern borders of Canaan or Phœnicia.

2. The *Hittites* (Chetites,) in the country of Hebron, south of Jerusalem.
3. The *Jebusites*, in and around Jerusalem.
4. The *Amorites* (Emorites,) on the east and west side of the Dead Sea.
5. The *Girgashites*.
6. The *Hivites* (Chevites,) on the river Hermon and in the valleys of Lebanon.
7. The *Arkites*, at the foot of Lebanon.
8. The *Sinites*, in the country of Lebanon.
9. The *Arvadites*, on the Phœnician island of Aradus and the opposite coast.
10. The *Zemarites*, the inhabitants of the Phœnician town of Simyra.
11. The *Hamathites*, the inhabitants of the Syrtian town of Epiphania on the Orontes.

SHEMITES.

- I. ELAM : the inhabitants of the province of Elymais in Persia.
- II. ASSHUR ; the Assyrians, by whom the towns of Nineveh, Rechoboth, Chalach, and Resen, were founded.
- III. ARPHAXAD : the inhabitants of the northern part of Assyria, (Arrapaehitis.) A descendant was

Shelach, from whom

Eber, Progenitor of the Hebrews, and from him
a. *Peleg*,⁹ and

b. Joktan, called by the Arabians *Kachtan*, ancestor of the following Arab tribes :

α. Almodad.

β. Shaleph, the Selapenes in Nedj or Tehama in Southern Arabia.

γ. Hazarmaveth, the inhabitants of the Arabian province of Hhadramaut.

δ. Jerach, the Inhabitants of the mountain of the Moon, (Jebel or Gobb el-Kamar,) near Hhadramaut.

ε. Hadoram ; unknown.

ζ. Usal ; the inhabitants of the country of Sanaa in Southern Arabia.

η. Dikla.

θ. Obal.

ι. Abimael.

κ. Sheba, the Sabians in Southern Arabia.

λ. Ophir, the inhabitants of El-Ophir, in the Arabian province of Oman.

μ. Havilah, the inhabitants of the province of Chaulan, in Southern Arabia.

ν. Jobab, the Jobabites, on the Gulf of Salachitis, between Hhadramaut and Oman.

IV. LUD : probably a people of Æthiopia.

V. ARAM : the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia. Their descendants :

1. *Uz*, the inhabitants of a district in the north of Arabia Deserta.

2. *Chul*, perhaps the inhabitants of Cælo-Syria.

3. *Gether* ; unknown.

4. *Mash*, the inhabitants of a part of the Gordæan Mountains, (Mons Masius,) north of Nesibis.

1. See verses 13, 14, ענמים, לודים, נפתוחים.^a
2. See verses 16, 17, 18, חייבוי, האמרי, הדגרשי.
3. Similar to this is the Greek Genealogy of Nations :

Deucalion.

Hellen.

Æolus.

Dorus.

Xuthus.

Ion.

Achæus.

There, likewise, it will be seen, the names of single individuals occur along with the names of persons who were the progenitors or founders of, or at least gave names to entire nations." Vater's Commentary on the Pentateuch, Vol. i. p. 93. A similar genealogy is found in *Apollodorus*, Biblioth. II. 1, 4. "Epaphus, who ruled over Egypt, married Memphis, the daughter of the Nile, and named after her the town of Memphis, which was built by him. He had by her a daughter Libya, after whom the country of Libya was called. Agenor and Belus were twin-sons of Libya and Poseidon, &c."

4. Admitting Moses to have been the writer of

^a The student, however, will bear in mind, that in Hebrew, a plural termination does not necessarily imply a plurality of objects. The first canon of Glassius "de Nomine Proprio," (Philol. Sacra, by Dathe, p. 674) is "*Nomina in se pluralia vel dualia, ex speciali impositione sæpe fiunt singularia et propria.*" He excepts, however, the names in Gen. x. as being manifestly names of nations.—M.

the book of Genesis, (as is established by well-known internal and external evidences,) still there is no improbability in supposing that, in drawing up this genealogical table, he may have had access to the archives kept by the priests among the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other surrounding nations. He was, we are informed, "learned in all the learning of the Egyptians;" and that this included historical and ethnographic knowledge, appears from the fragmentary remains of Manetho, Sanchoniathon, and Berosus, and the testimony of Herodotus.

5. *Vater* on the Pentateuch, Vol. I. p. 91.

6. *Doederlein* (in the Theol. Journal, p. 387,) has correctly observed: This document clearly marks the boundary lines between the three great primitive nations, of whom the first peopled the north of Asia, the second, the African continent, and the third, the intervening regions." To the same purpose *Herder*, (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Man, Part II. p. 342 :) "The three principal races (of those saved from the flood,) are evidently the people on both sides of the western Asiatic mountains, including the upper (northern) coasts of Africa, and the tribes of the east of Europe, in so far as they were known to the collector of the traditions. Japhet, according to his name and his blessing, (Gen. ix. 27.) was a *wide-spreader*, as the people to the north of the mountains did really become, in consequence of their nomadic mode of life. From Shem sprang the nations which the longest retained the primitive religion, and made the first advances in civilization and refinement. The name of Ham denoted *heat*, and his descendants

occupied the warmest regions of the earth towards the Torrid Zone."

7. *D'Herbelot* quotes these traditions in his *Bibl. Orient.* under the article, *Nuh* (Noah,) as does also *De Guignes*, in his *History of the Huns and Turks*, (Vol. I. p. 111 of the Ger. Transl.) from *Abulgasi Bahadur-Khan's*, (Sultan of Kharesm) *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, and the *Histories of Mirkhond and Beidhavi*. Noah, it is said, after he came out of the ark, divided the earth among his three sons. Ham received India; Shem, Iran, *i. e.* the lands to the south of the river Oxus, between the Indian and Persian seas. Japhet obtained the lands of Kuttup-Shamach, which name designates the far-extended regions north and north-east of the Caspian Sea, between the rivers Etel (Volga) and Jaik. See the Appendix to this chapter.

8. Samuel. *Bocharti Geographia Sacra, cujus Pars prior, Phaleg, de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in ædificatione turris Babel; Pars posterior, Chanaan, de coloniis et sermone Phœnicum agit.* Caen, 1646 and 1651, fol. Franckfort on the Main, 1674, 4to, and in Vol. I. of the edition of *Bochart's Works*, which appeared at Leyden, in 1712, in 2 vols. fol. Jo. Dav. *Michaelis Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteriæ post Bochartum, Pars prima*, Götting. 1769, P. sec. 1780, 4to. Jo. *Reinoldi Forsteri Epistolæ ad Jo. Dav. Michaelis, hujus Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteriæ jam confirmantes jam castigantes*, Götting. 1772, 4to. The work of *Schulthess on Paradise* (Zürich, 1816) likewise contains researches on this head.

9. Peleg פֶּלֶג *i. e. division*; so called, because, in his days, "*the earth was divided*," Gen. x. 25. The idea was, that each nation received its allotted portion of territory from God. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 8.^a

^a The following is the passage referred to :

בַּחֲנֹחַל עַלִּיּוֹן גּוֹיִם
בַּחֲפִרְיוֹ בְּנֵי אָדָם
יָצַב גְּבֻלַּת עַמִּים
לְמִסְפָּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ;
כִּי חֵלֶק יְהוָה עִמּוֹ
יַעֲקֹב חֵבֶל נִחְלָתוֹ :

Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.

When the Most High assigned an inheritance to the nations—

When he divided the sons of Adam ;

He fixed the bounds of the peoples,

According to the number of the sons of Israel.

For the portion of Jehovah is his people—

Jacob the lot (*lit. cord*) of his inheritance.

Compare with this the language of St. Paul, in his address to the Athenians, Acts xvii. 26, 27. The word *peoples* seems to have a special reference to the Canaanitish tribes. The fourth line is by the LXX. rendered *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ*, according to the number of the angels of God ; they probably supposing an allusion to the opinion, that every country was under the tutelary protection of its own guardian angel.—M.

END OF CHAP. III.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

ON THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN NATIONS.

The following is an extract from the History of the World, translated from the Khelassut ul Akhbar of Khondemeer, in the Calcutta Asiatic Miscellany, 4to. p. 148.

“Shem was appointed Noah’s successor by his will; and he is reckoned among the number of those prophets to whom the written law was revealed. According to tradition, God bestowed on him nine sons; namely Arphaxad, who is the father of the prophets; Kiumers, the father of kings; Aswed, who, according to the Tarikh Benagutty, built the cities of Nineveh, Rabah, Aklah, and Medain; Turekh, of whom historians have recorded nothing but his name; Lawed, among whose descendants are the Pharaohs of Egypt; Elam, who is said to have founded Khuristan; Irem, among whose descendants were Shidad and the tribe of Aad; Cured, who, according to the Tarikh Gozideh, had four sons, Azerbaijan, Arran, Armen, and Mughan. In the Rozit ul Suffah, it is written, that God bestowed on Ham nine sons: Hind, Sind, Zenj, Nuba, Kanaan, Kush, Kept, Berber, and Habesh; and their children having increased to an immense multitude, God caused each tribe to speak a different language.”

As to *Japhet*, D’Herbelot mentions (Bibl. Orient. p. 470,) that the Arabs assign to him eleven sons, who were the founders of as many Asiatic nations, viz: Gin or Dachin (the Chinese,) Seklab, (Sclavonians,) Manschuge, (Tartars?) Gomar, Turk, (Turks,) Khalage, Khozar, Ros, (Russians),

Sussan, Gaz, Torage. Hence he is commonly called "the Father of Turks and Barbarians." See Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 37. Some compare Japhet with *Ἰάφετος*, the Japhetus of Greek mythology, the son of Coelus by Terra, and who married Asia, and was considered the father of mankind. See Hesiod's *Theogonis.* V. 136, 508. Apollod. i. 1, Ovid's *Metam.* IV. v. 631.

The reader may compare with this the interesting discourse of Sir William Jones on the Origin and Families of Nations in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iii. p. 418, Lond. *Edit.* "Three sons of the just and virtuous man (Noah,) whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in three large divisions, variously subdivided: the children of Yafet seem, from the traces of Slavonian names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*. The colonies formed by the sons of Ham and Shem, appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestably preserved at this hour in Arabia, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the same people; while the former branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of Cush, Misr, and Rama (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the *Hindûs*) were in all probability the race which I call Indian.".....Thus we see the truth of these accounts in Genesis "confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable and in part certain."

While there can be no doubt of the fact, that a tradition, respecting the division of the earth among the three sons of Noah, has extensively prevailed throughout the east, it is right to put the reader on his guard against a document on that subject, which, upon its first publication, excited great interest, but has since been found to be spurious. We allude to a pretended translation from one of the mythological works of the *Hindûs*; which first appeared in a note annexed by Sir William Jones to an *Essay on Egypt and the Nile* by Captain

Wilford. It will be found in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches, and relates to Noah (under the designation of Saatyavrata) and his three sons. "Captain Wilford has since had the mortification and regret to discover, that he was imposed upon by a learned Hindû who assisted his investigation; that the Purana, in which he actually and carefully read the passage which he communicated to Sir William Jones as an extract from it, does not contain it, and that it was interpolated by the dextrous introduction of a forged sheet, discoloured and prepared for the purpose of deception, and which, having served this purpose, was afterwards withdrawn."

The following is the remarkable *prophecy of Noah*, to which reference has been made. Gen. ix. 25—27.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲרֹר כְּנָעַן
 עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים יִהְיֶה לְאֹחִיו :
 וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁם
 יִיחִי כְנָעַן עֶבֶד לָמוֹ :
 יִפֹּת אֱלֹהִים לִיִּפֹת וַיִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאֶדְמַת-לִישָׁן
 וַיִּחִי כְנָעַן עֶבֶד לָמוֹ :

And he said : Cursed *be* Canaan !
 Servant of servants shall he be to his brethren ;
 And he said : Blessed^a *be* Jehovah, God of Shem !
 And Canaan shall be their servant.
 God shall enlarge Japhet,^b and dwell^c in tents of
 Shem :
 And Canaan shall be their servant.

For historical illustrations of the fulfilment of this prediction, the reader may consult *Bochart's Phaleg*, *Mede*, Bishop *Newton* and others upon Prophecy, and *Horsley's Sermons*.

^a Kennicott proposes to translate: *Blessed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem !*

^b The Hebrew student will mark the *paronomasia* in יִפֹּת, לִיִּפֹת.

^c Or, *he shall dwell*, i. e. Japhet.

Yet it cannot be denied that the passage labours under considerable obscurity, and that valid doubts may be raised as to whether the curse was limited to Canaan's posterity, or extended to the whole race of Ham, and whether it be Japhet or Elohim that must be understood as the nominative to יִשְׁכֵּן in the fifth line. If the Canaanites alone were the subjects of the malediction, then no inference can be drawn respecting the subjection and slavery alleged to be here entailed upon all the Hamite tribes. And if (according to the version of the Chald. and Arab. Dathe, Newton, &c.) it was *not* Japhet but Elohim (God) who was to dwell in tents of Shem, while a new and beautiful train of thought is opened up by that translation, yet the frequent colonization of Asia by Europeans (however true in point of fact) will have no connection whatever with this part of the prophecy, though it may be brought in as having contributed to the *enlargement of Japhet*.

Michaelis, in his work on the Exterior Geography of the Hebrews, rejects the idea that the genealogical table in the 10th chapter of Genesis is to be understood as containing the origin of *all* the nations of the earth. He limits it to those nations which could be known to the Hebrews, through the medium of Arabia, Egypt, and Phœnicia. But such a supposition seems contradicted by the express language of verse 32. See Eichhorn's *Life of Michaelis*, in the *Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts*, No. VIII. p. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REGION OF THE NORTH.

SECT. I.—RIPHAT.

THAT the name Riphath or Riphath¹ designated a country and people to the north of the Hebrews, is evident from the circumstance, that it occurs in Gen. x. 3, in the genealogy of Japheth's posterity, and is mentioned along with tribes which unquestionably belonged to the north. The word suggests, "the Riphæans," and "the Riphæan Mountains," by which the ancients intended the most remote mountain-range, in what was to them the distant north, extending from the west of Europe to that part of Asia which lay on the east of the Black Sea.² But it is impossible to fix with precision upon any one chain of hills or tribe of people, with which the *Riphath* of scripture³ may certainly be identified.

1. רִפְתָּה, Gen. x. 3. In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. i. 6, it is written in most MSS. and Editions רִפְתָּה Diphath—evidently in consequence of the interchange (which is so frequent,) of the similar cha-

racters γ *resh* and γ *daleth*. But the oldest critical witnesses, the Seventy, have פִּיפֶאֶם in both places; and in Gen. x. 3, רִמְתָּ (or רִמְרָ) also occurs in some Samaritan MSS. and in all the Hebrew ones with one exception. This is the MS. No. 766 of *De Rossi*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which, according to him, (*Prolegom.* p. cxxiii.) *plures habet bonæ notæ varr. lectt. sed plura quoque menda*—among which errors must be reckoned this reading of רִמְתָּ in Gen. x. 3. See the Appendix.

2. *Pomponius Mela*, de Situ Orbis, I. 19: Hinc, (*i. e.* from the river Phasis in Causasus) orti montes longo se jugo et donec *Rhipaeis conjungantur*, exporrigunt, qui altera parte in Euxinum et Maeotida et Tanain, altera in Caspium pelagus obversi, Ceraunii dicuntur, iidem alicubi Taurici, Moschi, Amazonici, Caspii, Coraxici, Caucasii, ut aliis aliisque appositis gentibus, ita aliis aliisque dicti nominibus. And farther down, at the end of the first Book: Ultra surgit mons Rhiphaeus ultraque eum jacet ora, quae spectat Oceanum. Stephen of Byzantium speaks of $\text{Πιναιά ὄρος Ὑπερβοραίων}$. Pliny in his *Hist. Nat.*, IV. 12, says: Mox Rhiphaei montes, et assiduo nivis casu pinnarum similitudine, Pterophoros appellata regio: pars mundi damnata a rerum natura, et densa mersa caligine, neque in alio, quam rigoris opere, gelidisque Aquilonis conceptaculis. Pone eos montes, ultraque Aquilonem gens felix, si credimus, quos Hyperboreos adpellavere, annoso degit aevo. Virgil, *Georg.* I. 240.

Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces
Consurgit.*

* See the present work, p. 11.—M.

And III. 381.

Talis Hyperboreo Septem subjecta trioni
 Gens effrena virum Rhipæo tunditur Euro,
 Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpore sætis.

Upon which Voss remarks, that the idea which the ancients had of the Rhipæan chain was formed from the reports about the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Hercinian forest, &c., and that as it was supposed to run into Asia beyond the Sea of Pontus, there would be to the northern Scythians a Rhipæan Eurus or east wind. Strabo (VII. 3. 1,) regards the accounts of the Rhipæan Mountains, and the Hyperboreans as fables, originating in ignorance respecting the countries of the north: *Διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῶν τόπων τούτων, αἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ἔρη, καὶ τοὺς Ῥαυβόριους μυθοποιούντες, λόγου ἡξίωται.*

3. *Bochart* (Phaleg. III. 10,⁴) after *Josephus* (Ant. I. 6, 1,) takes Riphath or Diphath for Paphlagonia. He finds a trace of the former name in Rhebeus, a river of Bithynia, mentioned by Apollonius (Argonaut. II. 791,) and Orpheus (Argon. 711,) and which falls into the Black Sea, not far from Paphlagonia; while he thinks the name Diphath is preserved in Tobata, a town of Paphlagonia mentioned by Ptolemy. According to *Hasse* (Entdeck. Vol. i. p. 24,) Riphath denotes the Carpathian Mountains between Poland and Hungary. Comparing Karpeth with Riphath or Rhipath, he thinks the prefixed k in the former is in room of the spiritus asper which ac-

⁴ Also de Phœnic. Colonis, l. 10, Comp. Michaelis Spicel. l. p. 65.—M.

companies the initial *r* in Hebrew and Greek; and as the Latin *corvus* was according to him from the German *rabe*, and *cornu* from *horn*, so was Karpath formed from Riphath. He adds, that in the middle ages the Carpathian Mountains were called by the Byzantines *Harvat*, *Hervat*, and their inhabitants *Chrowats* (Croatians.) But *Hartmann* has brought forward well-founded objections to this hypothesis in his *Aufklärungen über Asien*, Part i. p. 165. *Schultze* (in his work on Paradise, p. 179,) thinks that the Riphath of scripture corresponds to the Rhibii, at the east end of the Caspian Sea, on the western bank of the river Polytimetes, "probably the river of Sogd, which fertilizes Samarcand and Bokhara."

SECT. II.—GOMER.

In Gomer, (גֹּמֶר, Gen. x. 2,) several antiquaries¹ have recognised the *Cimmerians*, a barbarous people of the north, mentioned in Homer's *Odyssey*,² and supposed to dwell on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in the Chersonesus *Taurica*, (the modern Crimea,) and in the tract to the east of that country. According to later historians and geographers,³ the *Cimmerians* inhabited the lands between the Don and the Aluta, on the Black Sea, and along the Danube. About the year 590 B. C., being pressed upon by the Scythians, they advanced under the command of Lydgamis through the pass of Caucasus to Sinope, and made destruc-

tive inroads into Lydia, the king of which, Alyattes, expelled them from Asia Minor about the year B. C. 533. They probably then moved through Pontus and Little Armenia towards the Caucasus.⁴ That the people whom the Hebrews called Gomer are to be sought for in that region, appears from a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel. For among the tribes that Gog, a mighty captain of the north, was to lead forth against the land of Israel, there is *Gomer*, with all his hosts, (Ezek. xxxviii. 6;) and it is immediately followed by *Thogarmah*, i. e. Armenia (see below, § VII.) and the remote countries of the north.⁵

1. As *Calmet*, J. D. *Michælis*, in his *Spicel. P. I.* p. 16, with which compare his *Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb.* p. 333, where there are several retractations and amendments. *Hasse* *Entdeck. P. I.* p. 8; and *Hartmann* *Aufklär. über Asien*, P. I. p. 150.

2. At the beginning of the 11th Book, Ulysses is wafted by a wind raised by Circe to the shore of the Cimmerians, where the great river Okeanos (Oceanus) runs into the sea, (V. 15—21 of Pope's translation.)

There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne'er views the uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances, or retreats:
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.

3. *Herodotus* I. 6, 15, 16, 108; IV. 1, 11, 12. *Strabo* I. p. 20, 61; II. p. 309; XI. p. 494. Ca-saubon's Edit.

4. Comp. *Bayer's* Comment. de Cimmericis in Vol. II. of the Commentt. Acad. Scientiar. Petropol. and in his Opusc. Halle, 1770. 8vo. p. 126. He says at p. 130: Mihi Herodoti verba omnia perpendenti vel maxime probabile videtur, Cimmericos, qui ad Tiram confluerant, occidentem et septentrionem petiisse, alios a locis Tanai vicinioribus, salutem quaesivisse in *Caucaseis saltibus et Asia*.

5. According to the oriental traditions collected by D'Herbelot and De Guignes, *Komari*, or *Gomer*, was the seventh son of Japhet, and dwelt on the river Etel or Wolga. (See above, Chap. III. note 7.) The radical consonants of the Hebrew גמר are found in the *Gumrah*, the name of a Caucasian race, mentioned by Reineggs, (*Beschreib. d. Kaukasus*, I. p. 94); yet we are not thence warranted to conclude that the Gumrah are descendants of Gomer. Bochart is peculiarly unhappy in his etymological conjectures respecting Gomer (cap. 8, p. 195.) He derives it from the root גמר, which is well known to signify *to be at an end, to cease*. In Chald. the Pael conjugation denotes *to consume or destroy*, and is used by the Chaldee translators in reference to fire, as being destructive; hence גומרא *a burning coal*. Now Strabo, and Stephen of Byzantium, mention a country of Phrygia *Karaxaxaupiή*, that is *the burned*, and *φρύγιον*, (whence Phrygia) signifies *to roast*; therefore Phrygia being interpreted, becomes גומרי, Go-

mer! According to Hasse, (*Entdeck. P. I. p. 8.*) the Cimmerians did originally settle in the Crimea, but from them descended the Cimabri of Jutland, the Celts and the Welsh, who call themselves *Kymr*. Objections to this view have been advanced by Hartmann, in his work cited in note 1. Schulthess (*Das Paradies*, p. 176,) understands by Gomer the Chomeri, who, according to Ptolemy, had their seat towards the north, and in the direction of the Oxus, between the Salatura and Komi.

SECT. III.—ASHKENAZ.

Ashkenaz, אֲשַׁכְנַז, is mentioned in Gen. x. 3, along with Gomer, and probably denotes a race in the same neighbourhood. The only other place of Scripture where it occurs is in Jerem. li. 27. It is there classed among the nations that were to execute the Divine judgments upon Babylon and Chaldea, and is joined with Ararat and Minni, provinces of Armenia. This leads to the conjecture that Ashkenaz was also a tribe either of Armenia itself, or of some neighbouring country in the Caucasus, or towards the Black Sea.¹

1. *Bochart* (Phaleg. III. 9,) places Ashkenaz towards Bithynia, in the north-west part of Asia Minor, on the Propontis, and this upon no other grounds than that there was there a lake Ascanius,

a river *Ascanius*, and a gulf of the same name. In Lesser Phrygia or *Troas*, there was a province, and also a town that bore the name of *Ascania*; and there were also islands on the coast, called the *Ascanian Isles*. But, according to the above-mentioned description by Jeremiah, this district is too far west to be identified with the *Ashkenaz* of Scripture. *Calmet* conjectures (in his *Comment. on Gen. x. 3*; and his *Dictionary of the Bible*;) that by *Ashkenaz* are intended the *Ascantes*, who, according to Pliny, (*Hist. Nat. VI. 7*;) dwelt on the *Tanais* and the *Black Sea*. But in that passage of Pliny, *Ascanticos* seems a false reading for *Contoeptas*. See *Hardouin Notae et Emendatt. ad Lib. VI. p. 353, No. 28*. *Schulthess* (*Das Paradies, p. 178*) seeks for *Ashkenaz* in the neighbourhood of *Ararat*, where Ptolemy places the province of *Astautitis* (found in no other geographer) to the west of *Mount Abos*; and not far off, to the east, in *Bactriana*, the town of *Astacana*, called by *Ammianus*, *Astacia*. Similar names are also *Ascatancas* in Ptolemy, north-east of the *Stone Tower* in the land of the *Sakæ*; *Aoanimia Mons* in *Ammianus*; and *Assaceni* in *Arrian*, in the modern *Bishore*, on the east bank of the river *Attok*, which runs from *Cabul* to the south, and falls into the *Indus* at *Attok*. But it needs scarcely be remarked, that these countries lie too far south to be thought of here. There is more probability in the remark of *Hasse* (*Entdeck. I. p. 19*) that *Ashkenaz* is a foreign word adopted by the Hebrews. "It resembles the ancient Greek name of the *Black Sea*, *Pontus Axenus* (*Pontus Euxinus*, olim *Axenos*; says *Pomponius Mela, I. 19.*) and denotes

the inhabitants of Pontus." The Chald. Paraphrast on Jer. li. 27, explains Ashkenaz by חַדְיָב Hadeib, perhaps the Assyrian province of Adiabene. Among the later Hebrews, Ashkenaz is considered to be Germany, and, in the phraseology of the Rabbins, the *Ashkenazim* are the Germans, though it is an application of the term that is altogether arbitrary. For other meanings, see J. D. Michaelis, Spicel. P. I. p. 59.

SECT. IV.—GOG AND MAGOG.

The word Magog, which in the ethnographic table in Genesis, is the name of Japhet's second son, appears in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, as the name of a country, whose ruler was called Gog,¹ and who, at the same time, was prince of Meshech and Tubal, that is of the Moschi and Tibareni. It is said, that after the people of God should be delivered from all their enemies and oppressors, and enjoy a long season of repose, this powerful monarch would collect a numerous and formidable host of the tribes of the distant north, and overrun the Holy Land, where, however, he would meet a signal overthrow, and be buried in a valley on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth, ch. xxxix. 11. In the Revelation of St. John, ch. xx. 8, Gog and Magog are not spoken of as lands or their rulers, but as two great nations, comprising the heathen at the four ends of the earth, who, after the millennial reign, shall be stirred up by Satan

to encamp against the holy city, and shall be destroyed by fire from heaven. Among the Arabs and Persians the nations of Yajooj and Majooj correspond to the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews.² They are supposed to have descended from Japhet, and to dwell in the distant north. Alexander the Great is said to have erected a wall, in order to prevent the inroads of these plundering tribes into the countries of the south. From the accounts found in Arabian and Persian geographers of Yajooj and Majooj, we conclude that they comprehend, under this designation, all the less known barbarous people of the north-east and north-west of Asia;³ the same who were described among the Greeks and Romans by the name of Scythians, and among the later Europeans by the name of Tatars, [corrupted into Tartars.] Yet though the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews may have had an equally vague acceptation, it nevertheless seems to have pointed more precisely to the *northern tribes of Caucasus*, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.⁴ This idea is countenanced, not only by the fact of the names being connected in Ezekiel with Ararat (Armenia), Meshech (the Moschi), and Tubal (the Tibareni); but also by the circumstance that the famous Caucasian wall, anciently erected by a Persian monarch as a defence against the incursions of the northern barba-

rians, and which extended from Derbend, on the western shore of the Caspian to near the Black Sea, was called *the Wall* (against) *Yajooj and Majooj*, i. e. Gog and Magog,⁵ a name which the remains still bear.⁶ In the Apocalypse, the terms Gog and Magog are evidently used allegorically, as names of the enemies of Christianity, who will endeavour to extirpate it from the earth, but shall thereby bring upon themselves signal destruction.⁷

1. גוג ארץ דמנוג.

2. ياجوج وماجوج. The letter ج, (*Jim*) which corresponds to the Hebrew ג (*Gimel*), is pronounced by the Arabs and Persians like the German *sch*.^a

3. The Arabian traditions of Yajooj and Majooj, from the geographical works of Edrisi and Ibn-el-Wardi, are collected in *Klaproth's Asiat. Magazine*, I. p. 138. But as a selection only is there given from the accounts of Ibn-el-Wardi, the entire Arabic text, with a Latin translation, will be found in *Hylander's Specimen Operis Cosmographici Ibn-el-Vardi*, Partic. XX. XXI. XXII. Lund. 1803, 4to. Comp. *D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient.* under the Article *Jagionge* and *Magionge*. *Hasse Entdeckungen*, I. p. 13; *Hartmann's Aufklär. über, Asien*, I. p. 160.

4. Jerome says, in his Comment. on Ezek. xxxviii. 2, that the Jews of his day supposed "Magog esse gentes Scythicas immanes et innumerabiles, quae trans Cauca-

^a It answers to the English *j* or soft *g*.—M.

sum montem et Maeotidem paludem, et prope Caspium mare ad Indiam usque tendantur." *Hasse* (in loc. cit.) finds in Gog, when gutturally pronounced *Kauk*, the name of Caucasus. *Reineggs* (Description of the Caucasus, Part II. p. 79,) mentions that "the middle range of the Caucasus is inhabited by a people called Thiulet, who designate their mountains Gef or Ghog, (a word in the Ossi language, signifying a mountain, *Reineggs*, Part I. p. 216;) and the highest and most northerly peak they term Moghef or Mugogh."^a According to *Bochart*, (Phaleg. iii. 19,) the word Gog has been preserved in the name of the province of Γωγαρήνη, a part of Iberia, on the river Lycus or Kur, and mentioned by Strabo, XI. 13, 4. The Magogites are placed by C. F. *Cramer* in the Scythian countries north of the Caucasus; see his Scythian Memorials in Palestine. Hamburg and Kiel, 1777, 8vo. (p. 104,) *Bruns* has an article in Gabler's Journal of Theological Literature, Vol. V. p. 50, entitled "A Comparison of the Greek and Roman accounts of the early condition of Mankind with those of the Hebrews." He there takes Magog for the north-east of Tartary towards China, and thinks Magog is compounded of two words, *Ma* and *Gog*. "The former word *Ma*, for which *Maha* is also used, signifies in Sanscrit *Great*, and has spread itself over the whole of Asia. And as the Indians call China, *Maha-Tsin*, the Great Tsin, so Magog denotes the Great Gog.

^a After the extraordinary mistake of *Reineggs*, respecting an alleged volcanic eruption of Mount Ararat, (see below Sect. VII. p. 146,) his statement here must be received with great suspicion.—M.

Comp. De Guignes, Hist. of the Huns and Turks. Introduction, p. 92."—*Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 182,) understands under Gog and Magog, the Sakæ, and Massagetæ, Scythian tribes south-east of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. Gog and Magog seem to him to stand in the same relation as Sakæ and Massagetæ, which last he thinks is composed of *Mas* and *Saka*, "just as Masdoranus, the mountain-ridge between Parthia and Margiana, to the north-east of which dwelt the Massagetæ, is formed of *Mas* and *Dura*. The Persian *Megh* signifies *Great*, (See the Zend-Avesta by *Kleuker*, Part III. p. 225, note.) Thus Magsakæ became Massagetæ, and if the Sakæ were by the Hebrews called Gog, the Massagetæ would be termed by them Magog." But to this opinion we cannot assent, for the reasons given above.

5. سد ياجوج وماجوج See *Bayer's* Dissert. de Muro Caucaseo, in Vol. I. of the Commentt. Acad. Scientar. Petropol. and in his Opuscula, p. 94. When Peter the Great was at war with Persia in the year 1722,* Derbend and the surrounding country fell into his power. Demetrius Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia, obtained permission of the Emperor to examine this remarkable monument of antiquity; and after overcoming many difficulties, he found near Derbend a remnant of the wall, of which he drew up a plan, which Bayer received from his son, and has given in the above-mentioned Dissertation. The traveller, Gmelin,

* In the original it is 1772; but that is evidently an anachronism, for Peter died in 1725. The date I have given is the correct one.—M.

visited this wall in the month of June 1770, in the course of the scientific mission upon which he was sent by the Russian government, and he has left the following description, (*Journey through Russia. Petersburg, 1774, Vol. III. p. 12.*) "From near the fortress of Derbend there runs straight west, across hill and valley, a wall, of which the natives affirm that it once reached to the Black Sea, and the still existing remains render this highly probable. I rode to it with some of my people, not without risk of being attacked by some of the neighbouring Lesghis, who regard travellers as a very inviting prey to be captured and sold as slaves. The remains in question are about a German mile and a-half* from the town, and consist of a thick wall, thirty feet high, similar to one of the walls of Derbend, but of much stronger masonry. It runs for a considerable way into the province of Tabasseran, is, for the distance of a werst, almost as entire as when first erected, but in other places is partially or wholly fallen down. There are at intervals pointed or pyramidical watch towers, which in some places present the appearance of the ruins of a large fortress. Two of these I ascended. The one, which is the most distant, is built into the wall, the other is within hearing distance of it. They are of a square form, provided with subterraneous vaults, and tolerably high; the snow-clad Caucasus is distinctly seen from them. This wall seems to have been built in almost a straight line from the Caspian to the Euxine, and the watch-towers and fortresses were probably erected as a

* About seven English miles.

means of keeping up communication between Derbend, the garrison at the eastern extremity, and the fastnesses in the mountains."

6. *Ker Porter's Travels*, II. p. 520. [See an extract in the Appendix to this chapter.] *Reineggs' Description of the Caucasus*, Vol. I. p. 120. *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Part II. p. 884.

7. In the Koran also (Sur. xviii. 94; xxi. 96) it is mentioned as one of the signs of the approach of the day of judgment, that the nations Yajooj and Majooj will break through their wall and lay waste the earth.

SECT. V.—ROSH.

AMONG the nations who were subject to the ruler of Magog, the prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxxviii. 2),^a first mentions *Rosh*¹. Now, as we have placed Magog within or near the Caucasus, his fellow subject *Rosh*, who is also connected with Meshech (the Moschi) and with Tubal, (the Tibareni) must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the same mountain chain. Among the tribes of Caucasus, Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. 4,) mentions the people, or district of *Rhoas*, between the Soani or Suanes, (who still bear that name) and the province of Ecrectice, a part of Northern Mingrelia. This *Rhoas* is, with great probability, conjectured by Reineggs² to be the Iberian province of *Rhadsh*. In both names we

^a No mention will be found of *Rosh* in the English Bible, for our translators, like Luther, have rendered שׂוֹאֵן רֹאשׁ by "chief prince"—in the margin, "prince of the chief."—M.

find the elements of the Hebrew word *Roah*; and the geographical position, moreover, favours the supposition that this people, who are nowhere else mentioned in scripture, inhabited the northern part of Iberia, bordering upon the Caucasus.³

1. גִּיּוֹשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבַּל. In Luther's translation, the name *Rosh* does not appear, the clause being translated "Gog is the *highest prince* in Mesech and Thubal." In this, Luther had followed the Vulgate, or the interpretation of Jerome, who renders גִּיּוֹשׁ רֹאשׁ by *princeps capitis*; on the ground that *Rosh* is not found as a proper name in any other part of scripture. But how many other names of countries and people occur in the Bible only once? The oldest Greek translators have correctly taken רֹאשׁ, for a proper name: τὸν ἀρχοντα 'Ρώς.

2. Descr. of the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 34. "The Iberian province Rhædsh (Rhoas, *Plin.*) is bounded on the west by the tribe Letshghumi and Mingrelia, on the north by the tribes of the Soani and the Mamiason. It is peopled by 3600 families, who are the property of the king of Iberia. Persons who have performed signal services are commonly presented with a hundred or more families, who, on the death of the possessor, revert to the crown, to be again bestowed upon another favourite." *Klaproth* also mentions this district in the description of the Georgian countries, contained in the second volume of his *Travels into Caucasus* (Halle 1814, p. 30): "Imerethi with the mountain tract *Radsha* have to

the north the Mingrelian province of Letshchumi and the Snowy Caucasus. *Radsha* had once its own princes, who were vassals of Imerethi, bore the title of Radshiss-Erissthavi, i. e. governor of Radsha, and were very powerful." In like manner the princes of Rosh, Meshech, and Thubal, seem to have been vassals of the King of Magog.

3. *Bochart* (Phaleg. III. 13, p. 213.) holds $\Psi\alpha\gamma$ to be identical with رس *Ras* or ارس *Aras*, the name of the river which the Greeks and Romans called the Araxes, and from which a district of Armenia, traversed by that river, was called Araxene. But that appears to be too far south to suit the connection in which Rosh and Magog, Meshech and Tubal, are found to stand. *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 22, 24) thinks of a Scythian tribe 'Pōs, who are described by the Monk *George*, a writer of the tenth century, as a wild and barbarous tribe in Mount Taurus. See *Stritter Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, paludem Maeotidis, Caucasum etc. habitantibus* T. II. p. 957. *Simon Logotheta*, another writer of the same age, also quoted by *Stritter*, (p. 958) says: "Ἐθνος δὲ οἱ 'Ρῶς Σκυθικὸν, περὶ ἀρχαῶν Ταύρων κατοικημένον, ἀνήμερόν τε καὶ ἄγριον. According to the traditions preserved by Persian and Arabic writers, and collected by *D'Herbelot* (in his *Bibl. Orient.* under the article *Rus*) روس i. e. *Rus* was the eighth son of Japhet,* and his descendants are, by *Abulfaraj*, always joined with the Bulgarians, Sclavonians, and Alani. See his *Hist. Dynast.* p. 105, 135, 474, 591, of the

* See the present work, p. 109.

Arab. text. But this people cannot well be made out to be the Russians, which is *D'Herbelot's* conjecture; far less can the Rosh of Ezekiel be held to be Russia, which is the opinion of *Calmet*, in his Dictionary (Art. *Ros.*)

§ VI.—MESHECH AND THUBAL.

THESE two names¹ are found together, not only in the Ethnographic Table in Genesis (chap. x. 2.) but also wherever they are mentioned in the Old Testament, Ezekiel xxvii. 13 : xxxii. 26 : xxxviii. 2, 3 : xxxix. 1. In like manner, the Greek writers class together the two tribes of similar name with these, the Moschi and Tibareni,² who, according to Herodotus,³ belonged to the same government in the Persian monarchy, were marshalled in arms under the same leader, and formed but one division of the host. These tribes inhabited a part of the second and more southern range of the Caucasus, which extends from the Turkish harbour and fortress of Bataumi, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, to the banks of the Aras or Araxes. This chain, which runs to the south-east, and is very woody, is now called the Mountains of *Tschildir*.⁴ What Greek and Roman writers say of the Moschi, who once dwelt in this mountain tract, and of the Tibareni, who were their neighbours to the west, agrees very well with the accounts of Ezekiel respecting Meshech and Thubal. In the prophecy against Tyre, it is said (chap. xxvii. 13),

“Meshech and Thubal trade with thee, and give thee for thy wares, slaves and copper vessels.” Parthian Cappadocia, which bordered upon the countries of the Caucasus, and to which the Tibareni were also reckoned to belong, has been, from the earliest times to the present day, the seat of a slave-trade,⁵ which is greatly promoted by its vicinity to the plundering Caucasian tribes. Persons of both sexes from the fine races of Georgia and Circassia, are seized and sold throughout the east. When the prophet farther speaks of copper vessels as brought to the Tyrian market by Meshech and Thubal, this applies no less suitably to the Moschian Mountains, which, according to Reineggs,⁶ are rich in different kinds of copper. In another place (chap. xxxii. 26), Ezekiel mentions Meshech and Thubal among the barbarous nations whose invading hordes were to become the terror of the world. These were always deemed to be the people of the north; and the Caucasian tribes (Magog) which in Ezekiel xxxviii. 2, 3: xxxix. 1, are joined along with Meshech and Thubal, were [and are to this day] warlike and barbarous marauders.⁷ Hence, the writer of the hundred-and-twentieth Psalm (ver. 5), describes the enemies of his country under the names of Meshech and Kedar,⁸ meaning thereby “both northern and southern barbarians.”

1. מֶשֶׁךְ וְתוּבַל.

2. *Bochart* says (Phaleg. III. 12 :) *Itaque quum a*

Mesech vel a *Mosoch Moschos* recte deducant non pauci recentiorum, est quod miretur lector. nulli dum venisse in mentem, *Tubal Tibarenos* condidisse, ut *Mesech Moschos*. Neque enim si ex *Tubal* Graeci fecerunt *Tibar* et *Τίβαριν χώραν*, ut habet Diodorus (L. IV. p. 413.), aut *Tibaros*, ut Eusebius (Praepar. L. I.) et Strabo (L. XI.) et crescente voce *Tibarenos*, mutatio haec tanti fuit, ut doctorum oculos debuerit configere; quum Graecos sit notissimum scribere *Φιχώρ* pro *Picol*, et *Σαράδ* pro *Saled*, et *Βελιάρ* pro *Belial*. Tale est, quod ex *Uzal* vel *Auzal* factum *Ἀύσαρα* et ex *Chalmadda* *Χαρμάνδη*.

3. III. 94. *Μόσχοις* δὲ, καὶ *Τιβερηνοῖς* — — — *τριηκόσια τάλαντα προέβητο*. B. VII. cap. 78. *Τιβερηνοὶ* δὲ κατὰπερ *Μόσχοι* ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο τούτους δὲ συνέτασσαν ἄρχοντες οἶδε· *Μόσχους* μὲν καὶ *Τιβερηνούς*, *Ἀριόμαρδος* κ. τ. λ.. See other quotations in Bochart (loc. cit.)

4. *Reinegg's* Descr. of the Caucasus, Vol. I. p. 6, and Vol. II. p. 61. *Ker Porter's* Trav. Vol. I. p. 152; Vol. II. p. 646, 653.

5. *Bochart* (loc. cit.) p. 206. *Tscherkessens* (i. e. Circassians), says Klaproth, very seldom sell their own countrymen to the Turks, but generally slaves who have been stolen. The greatest number of beautiful women are brought from Imerethi and Mingrelia; and hence the slave-trade of Circassia Proper is now very much limited to males.

6. Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 143. Comp. *Bochart*, in loc. p. 207, 208.

7. "Amid all their differences of language, each of those tribes has but one great ambition, viz. to be

deemed the most cunning and distinguished robbers. Deprived of the means of supporting themselves by honest industry, they are compelled to relieve their necessities by robbery and plunder." *Reineggs*, Vol. I. p. 40.

8. "Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech !
That I dwell among the tents of Kedar !"^a

SECT. VII.—THOGARMAH; ARARAT; MINNI.

We class these three names together, because they designate one country, viz. Armenia, or particular portions thereof.

1. Thogarmah, תוגרמה, appears, not only in the Ethnographic table in Genesis, but likewise in Ezekiel (ch. xxxviii. 6,) in connection with Gomer; and, in the latter place, as well as in ch. xxvii. 14, it is placed in the vicinity of Meshech and Thubal. These circumstances lead us to fix the tribe or country, known by this name, in the region that was north of the Hebrews, and specially in Armenia. For the idea that Thogarmah denotes that country, is confirmed by the traditions preserved in the writings of the Armenians and Georgians.¹ According to them, the Armenians, Georgians, Lesghians, Mingrelians, and people of Caucasus, are all descended from one ancestor, who was called *Thargamoss*,²

^a A tribe of Bedouin Arabs.

and was a son of Awanan, son of Japhet, son of Noah. After the confusion of tongues, when Nebrod (Nimrod) reigned in Babylon, and men began to be dispersed over the earth, Thargamoss went forth with his family, and settled between the mountains of Ararat and Massissi. He dwelt at Nachtschiwan, near Ararat, lived six hundred years, and had, by his many wives, a great number of sons and daughters. His numerous posterity, however, have no longer their seat between Ararat and Massissi, but spread themselves throughout the whole country. The boundaries of their habitation were the following: on the east, the Sea of Gurgan, which is now called the Sea of Ghilan (the Caspian); on the west the Sea of Pontus, or the Black Sea; on the south, the mountains of Orethi, which are in the land of the Kurds, towards Midia (Media); on the north, Mount Kawcass (Caucasus). The Armenians call themselves "the House of *Thorgom*,"³ and the Prophet Ezekiel uses the same expression in two places of his prophecy, ch. xxvii. 14; xxxviii. 6.⁴ In the former of these passages, it is said, that from the house of Thogarmah, horses and mules were sent to the market of Tyre; and this well agrees with Armenia, which was famed of old as a country rich in excellent horses.⁵

2. Ararat, אֶרֶץ אֲרָרַט, the country, upon the mountains of which Noah's ark rested after the

flood, Gen. viii. 4; and which is also mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, (ch. xxxvii. 38, comp. 2 Kings xix. 37); and by Jeremiah, (ch. li. 27,) was, according to the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, in the topographical description of his native country,⁶ its principal province. It lay in the centre of the region, and was divided into *twenty* circles, whose names are enumerated by the writer just mentioned.

3. Minni, מִנִּי, is named in Jerem. li. 27, among the nations near Ararat, that were called forth against Babylon. In a fragment of the Universal History of Nicholas of Damascus, preserved by Josephus,⁷ mention is made of the province of Minyas, in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat, which, in all probability, is the *Minni* of Scripture, either a province bordering on Armenia, or some part of that country which had its own governors.

Armenia⁸ has for natural boundaries, the southern range of Caucasus, or the Moschian Mountains of the ancients, on the north, and the almost impassable chain of Taurus on the south. To the east and west the limits are less clearly defined; and hence it is in these directions that the extent of the Armenian territory has so often varied. The high plains of Armenia gradually rise from the flat country of Iran on the east; and as gradually sink towards Asia Minor on the west. The elevation begins towards the

east, at the plain of the town of Taurus, on the Lake of Urmi, where is the commencement of that romantic mountain and forest scenery, which characterizes so large a portion of Armenia; while the plateaus, though destitute of wood, are covered with rich grassy pastures. The high plain of Armenia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, slopes, for several days' journey, westward towards the modern Pachalik of Rumili or Anatoli, (Natolia.) Throughout the whole country there are found extensive tracts of high and naked table land, with peaks of no great elevation occasionally rising above them, which are covered with snow even during the hottest summers.⁹

From the earliest times, Armenia has been divided into *Great* and *Little Armenia*; and that not only by the natives, but by the Greeks and Romans, and the people of the east generally. The former constitutes the eastern, and by far the larger division; the latter the western. Little Armenia is sometimes considered a part of Natolia, lying on the west bank of the Euphrates. It includes portions of the ancient provinces of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Pontus, and consequently of the modern districts of Carnania, Merash or Oladuli, and Siwas. It is under the dominion of Turkey. Great Armenia is separated from the Lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, or the ancient

Assyria, by Mount Taurus; and that portion of modern Kurdistan, which comprises the Lake of Van and surrounding territory, belongs originally and properly to Great Armenia. The latter is at present divided into fifteen governments, whereof nine belong to the Persians, and six to the Turks.^{a10} The Armenians profess a peculiar form of Christianity, which was introduced into their country at a very early period.

Turkish Armenia is colder and much less fertile than Persian. Tournefort¹¹ found the springs covered with ice in the middle of July. The corn was at that season only a foot high, and vegetation was no farther advanced than it is wont to be at Paris towards the end of April. In the district of Arzeroom the grain yields only a fourfold return; and the wine is as poor as the water is excellent. Yet Tournefort himself speaks elsewhere of the abundance of corn, and other provisions; and he especially celebrates the great number of rare and splendid trees growing in the plains of Arzeroom, the seeds of many of which he collected, and dispersed among the principal gardens of Europe. Milder in climate, and more productive in soil, is Persian Armenia, a country mentioned in terms of high commendation by ancient and modern writers. Armenia, says Strabo, brings forth all kinds of esteemed fruits and ve-

^a By recent treaties, a large portion of Armenia now belongs to Russia. See the Appendix to Chap. IV.—M.

getables ; and the Armenian pastures equal the far-famed pastures of Media. Chardin calls Armenia one of the most beautiful and fertile countries on the face of the earth.¹²

The most remarkable part of Persian Armenia, is that which has borne from remotest antiquity the name of ARARAT, and now forms a distinct government, whose chief town is Erivan.^a The tradition, that it was upon the mountain of this name¹³ that the ark of Noah rested after the deluge, is confirmed by very weighty ancient testimonies, and is certainly one of the oldest traditions that has come down to our day.¹⁴ Among the Persians it is still called *Kuhi Nuch*, i. e. Noah's Mountain. Rising from an extensive plain, it towers in massive grandeur to the clouds, in which its two snow-clad summits are commonly enveloped. The description which Ker Porter has given of this remarkable mountain, and the adjacent country,¹⁵ may not improperly find a place here. When this traveller first beheld the double summit of Ararat (in the month of November 1817), its height did not appear to him so extraordinary.¹⁶ " From the elevation of the spot where I stood, and the numerous mountains, though inferior to it, that obstructed my view, its appearance did not strike me in the way I had

^a In 1828 the Khanats of Erivan and Nakshivan were ceded to Russia. The boundary line passes over the summit of the Little Ararat.—M.

expected. But the true effect, like that in my perfect sight of the Caucasus, after a similar disappointment, was only postponed. Proceeding south-east for nearly forty wersts, at the extremity of a very long valley, we arrived at the ruins of a caravansary, where we halted an hour to rest our horses. At this place a pleasant change presented itself, both in the face of nature and the state of the atmosphere. The universality of the snow had been gradually disappearing during our last day's journey; and the unencumbered heights began to shoot out a little grass. Here the opening of the valley shewed still less of white and more of green; and the air, though cold, had something of a spring-like elasticity, a no unnecessary cordial to the traveller who reaches this point from the cheerless tract we had just passed over. In fact, during our whole march from the Valley of Kotchivan till we arrived at the caravansary, we had seen neither man nor beast out of our own little band; and the dead aspect of all objects around, assisted the impression of our being in some vast depopulated wilderness." But he goes on to say, a little after,

"On leaving our halting place, a fuller view of the great plain of Ararat gradually expanded before us, and the mountain itself began to tower, in all its majesty, to the very canopy of heaven. It bore south-east from the line of our caravansary. We now took a descending posi-

tion due east, over a stony and difficult road, which carried us, for more than ten wersts, through several close and rocky defiles, and over as many frozen streams, till we reached a small Mahometan village on the side of the Moschian hills. On the morning of the 17th November (O. S.), we left our hospitable Mussulmans, for whether they were so inclined, or overawed by the fierce looks and glittering arms of my attendants, I will not pretend to say, but I had no reason to complain of their want of civility. We set forth over a road as bad as that of the day before, in a direction south-east, and gradually descending from a great height, through a very extended sloping country, towards the immense plain of Ararat. In our way we passed relics of a considerable town called Talish. A little farther we saw the ruins of what had been a fine caravansary, on the side of a mountain stream, and from amid the mouldering walls we observed a few half-starved wretches creeping to the air as if that were their only aliment. Indeed sterility seemed to have been the curse of this immediate spot. Not a trace of verdure was discoverable on the ground; all parts were covered with volcanic stones, or rather masses of cinders, as if thrown from an iron forge, black, heavy, and honey-combed. Lower down upon this long declivity, rises a mound of earth and rock, which in any neighbourhood but that of Ararat, would be called a mountain. Here it ap-

pears scarcely a hill. Its form and substance are evidently those of an extinguished volcano ; but in what ages it has been at work, we have not means to guess ; no authors of established veracity, ancient or modern, having said one word of any known volcanic eruption in the regions of Ararat. Besides the cinders above mentioned, I observed in several places, during our downward march, large portions of rock of a soft red stone, bearing likewise the marks of calcination.

“ As the vale opened beneath us in our descent, my whole attention became absorbed in the view before me. A vast plain, peopled with countless villages ; the towers and spires of the churches of Eitch-mai-adzen arising from amidst them ; the glittering waters of the Araxes, flowing through the fresh green of the vale, and the subordinate range of mountains skirting the base of the awful monument of the antediluvian world. It seemed to stand a stupendous link in the history of man, uniting the two races of men before and after the flood. But it was not until we had arrived upon the flat plain, that I beheld Ararat in all its amplitude of grandeur. From the spot on which I stood, it appeared as if the hugest mountains of the world had been piled upon each other to form this one sublime immensity of earth, and rock, and snow. The icy peaks of its double heads rose majestically into the clear and cloudless heavens ; the sun

blazed bright upon them, and the reflection sent forth a dazzling radiance equal to other suns. This point of the view united the utmost grandeur of plain and height. But the feelings I experienced, while looking on the mountain, are hardly to be described. My eye, not able to rest for any length of time upon the blinding glory of its summits, wandered down the apparently interminable sides, till I could no longer tract their vast lines in the mists of the horizon, when an irrepressible impulse immediately carrying my eye upwards, again refixed my gaze upon the awful glare of Ararat; and this bewildered sensibility of sight being answered by a similar feeling in the mind, for some moments I was lost in a strange suspension of the powers of thought.¹⁷

“Agrida* is the name given to this sublime mountain by the Turks; and the Armenians call it *Macis*, but all unite in revering it as the haven of the great ship which preserved the father of mankind from the waters of the deluge. The height of Ararat has never yet been measured with any satisfactory degree of accuracy, though Captain Monteith of the Madras Engineers has gone nearer to the mark perhaps than any other traveller. The following are the results of several trigonometrical observations which he made at Erivan, and was so kind as to

* *Agridagh*, i. e. high, steep mountain.—M.

communicate to me. From that place to the highest point of the loftiest head, he found fifty-two thousand yards, and from the same spot to the minor head, fifty-five thousand yards. This head (which is distinguished by the appellation Little Ararat, while the higher part is called Great Ararat) is distant from the other from peak to peak twelve thousand yards. Little Ararat bears from Great Ararat, S. 60 E. Great Ararat bears from the monastery of Eitch-maidzen, S. 5 W., and Little Ararat S. 6 E.

“ Those inaccessible summits have never been trodden by the foot of man,* since the days of Noah, if even then; for my idea is that the ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either. Various attempts have been made in different ages to ascend these tremendous mountain-pyramids, but in vain. Their form, snows and glaciers, are insurmountable obstacles; the distance being so great from the commencement of the icy region, to the highest points, cold alone would be the destruction of any person who would have the hardihood to persevere.¹⁸ On viewing Mount Ararat from the northern side of the plain, its two heads are separated by a wide cleft, or rather glen in the body of the mountain.¹⁹ The rocky side of

* It will be seen from our Appendix to the present chapter that this assertion is no longer true.—M.

the greater head runs almost perpendicularly down to the north-east, while the lesser head rises from the sloping bosom of the cleft in a perfectly conical shape. Both heads are covered with snow; the form of the greater is similar to the less, only broader, and rounder at the top; and shows, to the north-west a broken and abrupt front; opening about half way down into a stupendous chasm, deep, rocky, and peculiarly black. At that part of the mountain the hollow of the chasm receives an interruption from the projections of minor mountains, which start from the sides of Ararat like branches from the root of a tree, and run along in undulating progression, till lost in the distant vapours of the plain.

“The dark chasm which I have mentioned as being in the side of the great head of the mountain, is supposed by some travellers to have been the exhausted crater of Ararat. Dr. Reineggs²⁰ even affirms it, by stating that, in the year 1783, during certain days in the month of January and February, an eruption took place in that mountain; and he suggests the probability of the burning ashes ejected thence at that time reaching to the southern side of the Caucasus, (a distance in a direct line of two hundred and twenty wersts;) and so depositing the volcanic productions which are found there. The reason he gives for this latter supposition is, that the trapp seen there did not originate in those mountains,

and must consequently have been sent thither by volcanic explosions elsewhere. . And that this elsewhere, which he concludes to be Ararat, may have been that mountain, I do not pretend to dispute ; but those events must have taken place many centuries ago, even before history took note of the spot ; for since that period we have no intimation whatever of any part of Ararat having been seen in a burning state. This part of Asia was well known to the ancient historians, from being the seat of certain wars they describe ; and it cannot be supposed that, had so conspicuous a mountain been often or ever (within the knowledge of man,) in a state of volcanic eruption, we should not have heard of it from Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, or others, but, on the contrary, all these writers are silent on such a subject with regard to Ararat ; while every one who wrote in the vicinities of Etna or of Vesuvius, had something to say of the thunders and molten fires of those mountains. That there are volcanic remains to a vast extent around Ararat, every person who visits its neighbourhood must testify ; and, giving credit to Dr. Reineggs' assertion, that an explosion of the mountain had happened in his time, I determined to support so interesting a fact, with the evidence of every observation on my part, when I should reach the spot. But on arriving at the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen, where my remarks must

chiefly be made, and discoursing with the fathers on the idea of Ararat having been a volcano, I found that a register of the general appearances of the mountain had been regularly kept by their predecessors and themselves, for upwards of eight hundred years, and that nothing of an eruption, or any thing tending to such an event, was to be found in any one of these notices. When I spoke of an explosion of the mountain having taken place in the year 1783, and which had been made known to Europe, by a traveller declaring himself to have been an eye-witness, they were all in surprise, and besides the written documents to the contrary, I was assured by several of the holy brethren, who had been resident in the plain for upwards of forty years, that during the whole of that period they had never seen such a smoke from the mountain. Therefore, how the author in question fell into so very erroneous misstatements, I can form no guess.²¹

1. See *Moses of Chorene*, Hist. Armen. I. 8, p. 24. Whiston's Edit., and King Wachtang the Fifth's History of Georgia. While Klaproth was at Tiflis, he caused a portion of the latter work (from the commencement to the fourth century of the Christian era,) to be translated by a native Georgian, from his mother tongue into Russian, and a German version of this Klaproth has given in his Travels into the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 64, from which the above particulars are extracted.

2. *J. D. Michaelis*, says (in his Spicileg, Tom. I.

p. 68.) Fuerunt codices, non nobis quidem illi servati, sed ab antiquis lecti interpretibus, in quibus literae inversa serie תרגומא *Thorgama*, collocatae erant. Sic certe Graecus Mosis interpres legit, Θέργαμα, seu, ut habet codex Alexandrinus, Θείργαμα reddens, eademque scriptio, licet non sine varietate, in Ezechiele et Chronicis recurrit, licet hi libri ab alio interprete Graeca lingua donati sint. In Josepho quoque duplex scriptio, incertumque, utrum Θυγράμης, an Θοργάμης ab ejus manu sit. Armeniorum denique historici Thorgomum aliquem nominant, Thirasi filium, Gameri nepotem, a quo se ortos praedicant, qui sine dubio Thogarma est Mosis male intellecti. Vide Mosen Chorenensem, p. 12.

3. תרגומא. In Syriae the word |אד which corresponds to the Hebrew תר, also signifies *land, territory*, e. g. |אדוסי אד, *the territory of the Romans*. See *Michaelis* in *Castelli*, *Lex. Syr.* p. 96. The above Hebrew expression may, therefore, denote the *province or country of Thogarmah*.

4. See *Moses of Chorene* in loc. cit. p. 26, note.

5. *Strabo* says, (XI. 13, 9, p. 529, Casanbon's edit.) that in regard to the number of good horses, Armenia was not behind Media. There were also Nisæan horses there, which were used by the kings of Persia; and the Satrap of Armenia sent yearly to the Persian court twenty thousand foals for the feast of Mithras, καὶ ὁ σατράπης τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῷ Πέρσῃ κατ' ἔτος δισμυρίους πώλους τοῖς Μιθρακηνοῖς ἐπιμισν. When Artavasdes met Antony in Media, he presented him with a troop of six thousand horse, fully equipped, and completely armed.

6. Hist. Armen. 361. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 518. According to the Armenian tradition in *Moses of Chorene*, the name *Ararat* was derived from *Arai*, the eighth of the native princes, who was killed in a battle in one of the plains, in memory of which the whole province was termed *Aray-iarat*, i. e. "the ruin of *Arai*."^a See *Schroeder's Dissertt. de Fatis Ling. Armen.*, prefixed to his *Thesaur. Ling. Armen.*, p. 16. Jerome in his *Comment. on Isa. xxxvii. 38*, says: *Ararat autem regio in Armenia campestris est, per quam Araxes fluit, incredibilis ubertatis, qui usque illuc extenditur.*

7. Antiq. I. 1, 6. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐνενηχοστῇ παλῇ ἔκτῃ βίβλῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν, λέγων οὕτως. ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα μέγα ὄρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περιωδῆναι, καὶ τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὀκειῖλαι, καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. See also the following note.

8. The origin of the name *Armenia* is uncertain. *Moses of Chorene*, in his enumeration of the Armenian princes, mentions *Armenagh* as the second, and *Harma* as the third, and from these he derives the name of his native country. Hist. p. 35. Comp. *Schroeder's Diss.* p. 16. According to others, *e. g. Hartmann*, (*Aufklär. über Asien*, I. p. 34) the name comes from *Aram*, a descendant of *Shem*, after whom an extensive region was called *Aramæa*, which originally included in it *Armenia*. Others conjecture,

^a The battle is said to have been with the Babylonians; and the date assigned, about B. C. 1750.—M.

that the etymology is to be sought in אֲרָם *aram* (the root of which is רוּם *to be high*), being so denominated on account of its elevated situation. *Bochart* (*Phaleg*. I. 3, p. 24) thinks that Armenia was originally דֹּר־מִנִּי, *Har-Minni*, i. e. Mount Minni, or the mountain-land of Minyas. See note 7. This is likewise the opinion of *Wahl*, (*Asien*. p. 807, note:) “Minyas is of similar signification with the מִנִּי of scripture. From this דֹּר־מִנִּי *Har-minni* (Mount Minni) arose the Arabic name *Armen*, اَرْمَنِ, which Jerome writes *Armon*, the ancient [Greek] translators *Aquila* and *Symmachus Armona*. *Har-Minni* is the “Heavenly Mountain,” the mountain whose top reaches to heaven, meaning *Ararat*; for *mino* in *Zend*, and *myno*, *myny* in *Parsee*, signify heaven, heavenly. And hence the ancients called the whole province of *Ararat*, *Minyas*.” In the country itself, the name *Armenia* is not used; but the people are called *Haik*, the country *Haichia* (in *Armenian* *Hayotz-zor*, the Valley of Haiks,) from *Haik*, the fifth descendant of *Noah* and *Japhet*, in the traditionary genealogy of the country. See *Moses of Chorene’s Hist.* p. 29, 30.

9. See *Ritter’s Erdkunde*, Vol. II. p. 712, 713.

10. A particular account of these governments will be found in *Schamirow’s* Historical and Geographical Description of the kingdom of Armenia, translated from Armenian into Russian (St. Petersburg, 1786); of which *Busse* has given a German version, in the introduction to his Translation of the Memoirs of the Armenian, *Artemius of Wagar-shapat*, on Mount *Ararat*. Halle, 1821, 8vo. (p. 5, et seqq.) Comp. *Saint-Martin Mémoires Historiques et Geographi-*

ques sur l'Arménie, Paris, 1819, 2 Vol. 8vo. The most ancient division of Armenia into provinces will be found in *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. II. p. 791; that from Ptolemy in *Wahl's Asia*, p. 498, and that from Moses of Chorene, *ibid.* p. 500.

11. Relation d'un Voyage du Levant. Amsterdam Edit. 1718, 4to. p. 122, 155, 156.

12. *Strabo*, XL. 13, 4, p. 528, Casaubon's Edit. *Charadin*, Voyages, Tom. II. p. 158, Edit. of Langles.

13. על-דורי אררט. Gen. viii. 4.

14. *Hartmann's Aufklär.* über Asien, Vol. I. p. 83. Comp. Das Alte und Neue Morgenland [by Rosenmüller] Vol. I. p. 28.

15. Travels, Vol. I. p. 178.

16. This was likewise Tournefort's first impression. See his Travels, Vol. III.

17. The aspect of the mountain on the south side is thus described by *Morier*, in his second journey through Persia, (p. 312:—) "As we crossed the plain from Abbasabad to Nakhjuwan, we had a most splendid view of Mount Ararat. Nothing can be more beautiful than its shape, more awful than its height. All the surrounding mountains sink into insignificance when compared to it. It is perfect in all its parts; no hard rugged feature, no unnatural prominences, every thing is in harmony, and all combines to render it one of the sublimest objects in nature. Spreading originally from an immense base, the slope towards the summit is easy and gradual, until it reaches the region of snows, when it becomes more abrupt. As a foil to this stupendous work, a smaller hill rises from the same base, near the original mass, similar to it in shape

and proportions, and in any other situation, entitled to rank amongst the highest mountains."

18. "No one since the flood," says the last mentioned writer, (p. 312,) "seems to have been on its summit, for the rapid ascent of its snowy top would appear to render such an attempt impossible.* Of this we may be certain, that no man in modern times has ascended it, for when such an adventurous and persevering traveller as Tournefort failed, it is not likely that any of the timid superstitious inhabitants of these countries should have succeeded. We were informed that people have reached the top of the small Ararat (or as it is called here, Cuchuk Agri dagh); but as all the account which they brought back was a tale about a frozen man and a cold fountain, we must be permitted to disbelieve every report on the subject which we have hitherto heard from the natives." In another place (p. 344) Morier says: "The impossibility of reaching its extreme summit, even on the side where it is apparently most easy of access, was decided (so we were assured) some years ago, by the Pasha of Bayazid. He departed from that city with a large party of horsemen at the most favourable season, and ascended the mountain on the Bayazid side, as high as he could on horseback. He caused three stations to be marked out on the ascent, where he built huts and collected provisions. The third station was the snow. He had no difficulty in crossing the region of snow, but when he came to the great cap of ice that covers the top of the cone, he could

* Dr. Parrot and others have since demonstrated its possibility. See the Appendix to this Chapter.—M.

proceed no farther, because several of his men were there seized with violent oppressions of the chest, from the great rarefaction of the air. He had before offered large rewards to any one who should reach the top; but although many Courds, who live at its base, have attempted it, all have been equally unsuccessful. Besides the great rarefaction of the air, his men had to contend with dangers of the falling ice, large pieces of which were constantly detaching themselves from the main body, and rolling down. During the summer, the cap of ice on its summit is seen to shine with a glow quite distinct from snow, and if the old inhabitants may be believed, this great congealed mass has visibly increased since they first knew it."

19. Reineggs (Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. I. p. 27.) says that the frightful chasm of Ararat, can be beheld by none without shuddering. Morier remarks of it: "One of the great features of this mountain is the immense chasm that extends nearly half way down it, and is very visible from Erivan and all its surrounding territory. A large mound of earth, apparently foreign to the original and natural conformation of the mountain, is to be seen in the vicinity of the chasm, in the deepest recess of which is a mass of ice, whose dimensions, according to the natives, may be compared to those of an immense house or tower. It has evidently fallen from a cliff, discernible at a great distance, which impends very considerably over the chasm. The Armenians, who watch the progress of the accumulating ice on this cliff, expect that another mass of equal dimensions to the former, will soon separate itself from the mountain, and be precipitated into the

abyss. Experience has taught them, that this fall takes place after a lapse of twenty years; and some credit is due to their testimony, for they look upon Ararat as a most sacred spot, and consequently, are frequent and regular in their observations of it. The mass of ice that is now seen in the chasm, has fallen in such a situation, that it only receives the heat of the sun upon its surface for about two hours during the day, which is just sufficient to dissolve so much of it as to produce a fresh congelation, as soon as it is again immersed in shade." Second Journey, p. 345.

20. Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. I. p. 17.

21. We add some other remarks of *Morier* upon this remarkable mountain, (p. 346.) "The sign of the greatest heat is when the snow has entirely left the summit of Little Ararat. When encamped on the heights of Aberan, we watched its daily diminution, until it completely vanished. At this period the cultivators of melons cut their fruit, and, in general, the snows of Ararat are used by the agriculturists of Erivan as a calendar by which they regulate the sowing, planting, and reaping of their fields. The Eelauts also are guided in their motions by the operations of the weather on this mountain, keeping to their *Yelaks* [*i. e.* summer residences], or descending from them according to the falls of snow. The soil of this great mountain appears to be one immense heap of stones, confusedly thrown together, unenlivened by vegetation. Here and there indeed are a few plants; but Tournefort's circumstantial relation will shew how scanty are the gleanings of the botanist. In many parts of the Little Ararat are

tracts of a very soft stone, and in others a species of vitrification. Lava is also to be seen, but the soil which most frequently intervenes between the rocks is a deep sand. The wild animals that inhabit this region are bears, small tygers, lynxes, and lions. Perhaps the most dangerous are the serpents, some of which, of a large size, are venomous in the highest degree. They are reputed so fierce as to attack passengers. When we resided in the vicinity of Ararat, a tale was prevalent, that a dragon had got possession of the road which leads between the small and greater mountains to Bayazid; and, like the serpent of Regulus, had impeded the passage of the caravans. This proved to be one of the large snakes. The base of Ararat, on the banks of the Araxes, is girded by extensive swamps, in which are great quantities of wild boars. In these, and on the banks of the rivers, are also immense flocks of wild fowl. On the mountain itself there are many eagles, and a great variety of hawks. Tournefort seems to turn into ridicule (Vol. II. p. 147,) the report of travellers who mention the existence of Anchorites on Mount Ararat; but within the great chasm there is a cave, in part built up, in which it is believed a hermit used to live. The wilds of this mountain give refuge to all the rogues and outlaws of the surrounding country; and there is a cavern between the Great and Little Ararat, in so strong a situation, that not long since, some turbulent Courds, who had taken possession of it, held it in despite of the Serdar and his forces."

SECT. VIII.—SCYTHIA.

When the Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Church at Colosse (ch. iii. 11,) says, that Christianity unites in one all nations, Jews and Heathens, learned and unlearned, he thus expresses himself: “There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, slave nor free, but Christ is all and in all.” The name *Scythian* is in Ancient Geography as vague and fluctuating in its meaning as the names Mongols and Tatars in modern times.¹ It is sometimes the name of a single people, but it likewise frequently designates all the nomadic tribes which roam over the tracts to the north of the Black and Caspian Seas, and far into the interior of Eastern Asia. The same uncertainty prevails in the use of the term as the name of a country; inasmuch as *Scythia* sometimes denotes the seat of a people called Scythians, but at other times it comprises all the lands which are now held to belong to Mongolia and Tatar. By the “Scythians,” in the above quotation, the Apostle intends the same as “Barbarians,” that is, as Luther has correctly rendered it—*Nicht-Griechen*^a (literally *Not-Greeks*) including all rude, uncivilised nations.²

^a In the Edition of Luther's Version which I possess, (Hamburg 1824, 8vo.) it is *Ungriechen*.—M.

Herodotus relates (I. 103, 104) that in the time of the Median king Cyaxares, (in the second year of the 37th Olympiad, 631 B. C., during the reign of Josias, king of Judah), the Scythians, after they had made themselves masters of Asia Minor, overran Syria and Palestine, and threatened to attack Egypt, but through the entreaties and presents of the king Psammetichus, they were induced to retire. During their retreat, a part of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon. It is conjectured,³ that it was upon the occasion of this inroad of the Scythians into Palestine that the town of Bethshan or Beth-shean,⁴ at the south end of the plain of Esdraelon, received the name of Scythopolis.⁵ It is true that the Hebrew records are silent respecting this Scythian invasion;⁶ but that does not affect the correctness of the narrative of Herodotus, for it was by no means the design of the books of Kings and Chronicles to give a complete history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

1. "From the time of Homer, *Scythia* was understood to comprehend all the unknown regions of the earth, from north-west to north-east, beginning at the frigid zone, where was placed the scene of the fables of the west, respecting the Cimmerians, the Hyperboreans, the Arimaspi, &c. *Voss* on Virgil's *Georgics*, p. 612, comp. p. 122, 305. Learned re-

searches concerning the Scythians will be found in *Bayer's* Dissertations,—de origine et priscis sedibus Scytharum—de Scythiæ situ, qualis fuit sub ætatem Herodoti—Chronologia Scythica vetus—Memoriæ Scythicæ ad Alexandrum Magnum—in the Commentarr. Acad. Petropolit; contained also in his Opuscula, edited by Klotz, p. 63. Comp. with these *Manner's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans, Vol. IV. p. 12; and C. F. *Cramer's* Scythian Memorials in Palestine, p. 82.

2. Comp. 3 Macc. 7, 5, Νόμου Σκυθῶν ἀγχιότερη ὠμότης, and also *J. Boemi* Eclogæ de barbaris Scytharum moribus in Zorn's Biblioth. antiquar. exeget. p. 761. sqq.

3. Georg. *Syncellus* in Chron. p. 214. *Cramer* in loc. cit. p. 131,

4. בית שן. Josh. xvii. 11, 16, also בית שן, 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12.

5. Σκυθῶν πόλις, 2 Macc. xii. 29, 30.

6. *Cramer* in the work cited in note 1, (p. 138,) follows Paul *Pezron*, (in his Essai d'un Comment. Litt. et Histor. sur les Douze Prophètes, Paris 1693, 8vo.) in thinking that the inroad of the Scythians into Palestine has been described by the prophets Joel and Zephaniah. But such an exposition is founded upon mere arbitrary assumptions, which are incapable of proof.^a

^a The appendix to this and the following chapters will be found at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER V.

MEDIA.

THAT extensive tract of country which was called by the Hebrews Madai,¹ by the Greeks and Romans, Media, lies on the west and south of the Caspian Sea, running in a northerly direction towards Armenia, and in a southerly towards Farsistan, and comprehends the modern provinces of Shirwan, Azerbaijan, Ghilan, Masanderan, and Irak Adjemi. This region, which, in superficial extent, is larger than Spain, is situated between the 35th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was from the earliest times, one of the largest, most fertile, and most civilized kingdoms of Asia. It was divided into two principal parts, of which the northern was called Atropatene, or *Little Media*; the southern, *Great Media*.² Atropatene corresponds to the Azerbaijan³ of the aborigines, from which name the Greek designation appears to have been formed. Azerbaijan, which is now, as in ancient times, a Persian province, under its own governor, is on all sides surrounded by the lofty chain of Taurus, except towards the mouth of the Kur. Strabo⁴ calls Atropatene in Media, a fruitful and very

populous country, which could furnish ten thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot. With the exception of the mountains on its borders, Azerbaijan consists of fertile plains and valleys, which are separated by little hills, and are watered by innumerable small rivers and a multitude of lively meandering brooks. These plains and valleys yield all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life, in great abundance and excellence. In the days of Chardin, the fields were well cultivated, and upon the rich pastures he saw thousands of fine horses, a circumstance which reminded him of the almost incredible numbers which the Persian kings are said to have reared here.⁵ The flat country was then covered with villages, and Tauris^a was one of the richest, most industrious,

^a By Europeans commonly called *Tabris*. Morier has given a view of it in his *Second Journey*. The following is Abul-feda's notice of this city: قال في الباب

وتبريز اشهر بلدة باذربجان والعام تسميها توربر—قال ابن حوقل تقارب خوي في الكبر والعظم قال وكلان بها كرسي مملكة بيت هولاكو ثم انتقل بعد ذلك الي المدينة المحدثه التي بناها خربد لاتي ذكرها—قال ابن سعيد وهي قاعدة اذربجان في عصرنا ومبانيها ملاح بالقاشاني والجيس والكلس وفيها

and populous cities of the east. At the present day, Azerbaijan lies almost as waste as any other province in Persia. Trade and manufactures are nearly annihilated, and most of the towns are in ruins.

Great Media, the modern Irak Adjemi,⁶ or Persian Irak, is a mountainous country,⁷ intersected by grassy and fertile vales, and occasionally diversified by beautiful, well-irrigated and productive plains.⁸ The climate is temperate, and the air pure. The clear azure sky of Persian Irak, or southern Media, is celebrated by all travellers. From May to September, the atmosphere is not obscured by a single cloud. The beauty of this cloudless hemisphere, says

مدارس حسنة ولها غوطة مليحة وكان فيها
من روسايتها من كبرها مع المترو ولم يجزي
Dicit in el-Lobābo :
عليها ما جزي علي مراغة وغيرها

Tibrīz celeberrima urbs est Adherbijanæ, quam vulgus Tauriz appellat. Dicit Ibn Haucal : Accedit ad Chowayyam amplitudine et magnitudine ; addit : erat ibi solium regium familiæ Hūkū, quod deinde translatus est ad urbem novam, quam condidit Charbend, de qua mox. Dicit Ibn Sa'īd ; Est metropolis Adherbijanæ nostro tempore, structa pulcherrime lapidibus Cāshānensibus et gypso et calce : habet gymnasia et vallem amoenam. Inter ejus optimates erat aliquis, qui amice norat tractare Tataros, quo factum, ut non eodem loco eam haberint, quo Marāgam, aliasque urbes.—Wüstenfeld's *Abulfeda*, p. 43.—M.

Chardin,⁹ I can never forget. It is as if the firmament were higher and of another colour than in our misty European climates. The clearness of the sky, and purity of the atmosphere, shed upon nature and its productions, as well as upon the works of art, an indescribable splendour, and tend greatly to the preservation of the latter from decay. During night, the stars emit so brilliant a lustre, that their light is sufficient for many ordinary purposes, and even then, the air is so dry, that the least trace of dew or damp can no where be detected. The heat of summer is moderated by cooling breezes, which spring up at night and continue till the morning. From November to March it is very cold.¹⁰ Much snow falls on the hills, but less in the valleys. It is to be observed, however, that what has now been said of the dryness and purity of the air in southern Media, is by no means true to the same extent of the north-eastern portion, which lies on the Caspian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, the modern Ghilan and Masanderan.¹¹ These two provinces are at once the most fertile and the most unhealthy. They are both bounded to the south by a chain of high mountains, many of which are covered with snow, but their sides are clothed with the finest forests of oak, beech, and other useful trees, and yield excellent vegetables, while the lower grounds are rich in oranges, pomegra-

nates, olives, peaches, apricots, and other fruits. The plains that lie towards the Caspian have a fat loamy soil, which produces rice and all kinds of grain and pulse in the greatest abundance; and at the season of spring, from the vast variety of flowers which adorn the earth, this part of Ghilan and Masanderan presents the appearance of one continued garden or *paradise*, the name generally given to it by the Persians. Yet all these advantages of soil are counterbalanced by an evil of no small magnitude—the seemingly irremediable insalubrity of the climate.¹² The morasses which are formed by the flat banks of the Caspian Sea, the inundations from mountain-torrents, and the irrigation of rice-fields, would be sufficient to vitiate the atmosphere of Ghilan and Masanderan; but these are not the only sources of unhealthiness; it is supposed to be mainly occasioned by the east and north winds, which prevail during the greater part of the year on the southern shores of the Caspian, and come loaded with its vapours, upon which the neighbouring mountains concentrate the rays of the sun, and keep them from being dissipated. These condensed fogs either fall down three times a year, in violent saline showers, or are suspended over the plains in pestilential effluvia. And in the hot season especially, they engender various kinds of

gouty and cutaneous affections, intermittent and putrid fevers, which every year carry off thousands.

The chief town of Media, Ecbatana, or Agbatana, is mentioned in Ezra vi. 2, under the name of Achmeta,¹³ as the city in which were discovered the royal archives¹⁴ of Persia. In the beginning of the apocryphal book of Judith, (ch. i. 2, et seqq.) it is said that the king of Media, Arphaxad, encompassed Ecbatana with a round wall of hewn stones, each being three ells broad, and six ells long. The height of the wall was seventy ells, and the width fifty. Over the gates he placed towers a hundred ells high, their foundation being sixty ells broad. The gates were seventy ells high, and forty ells wide.¹⁵ According to Herodotus,¹⁶ the first Median king Dejoces, built Ecbatana, and surrounded it with seven strong walls, the innermost of which included the royal citadel and treasury. In consequence of the town lying on the declivity of a hill, one battlement rose above another, in the form of an amphitheatre, and the whole had a more striking appearance, from the circumstance that each was painted of a different colour, and the innermost was covered with gold and silver. The circumference of the outer wall is compared by Herodotus to the circuit of Athens, and Diodorus

makes it somewhat greater, for he states it at 240 stadia.¹⁷ The town must subsequently have extended beyond this wall, for Polybius expressly says,¹⁸ that Ecbatana had no walls. The upper part would then consist only of the citadel. Below lay the royal residence, which was seven stadia in circuit, and was adorned with marvellous art and surpassing splendour. The wood work was all of cedar and cypress, and was so well compacted together, that during the long period that elapsed from its erection to the time of Polybius, not one piece had been disjointed. The beams and rafters, and the pillars in the inner halls and outer porches, were all ornamented with gold and silver; the whole roof was covered with silver tiles. Of all this decoration the greater part was carried off at the time of the city's capture by Alexander, and the remainder by Seleucus and Antiochus. Out of the produce of this plunder the Syrians struck their royal coinage, to the amount of nearly four thousand talents. Even in the time of Polybius, the temple of Aene (Anaitis) had gilded pillars, with many silver tiles and various other ornaments. Ecbatana was in later times the seat of the Parthian kings, who, before the conquest of Media, had lived at Hecatompylos. After the extension of their monarchy beyond the Euphrates, Ecbatana, on account of its temperate cli-

mate, continued to be their ordinary summer-residence. The site of the ancient Ecbatana is probably occupied by the modern Hamadan. Ker Porter¹⁹ says : " The identity of this ancient city's situation with that of the present Hamadan, seems to be established beyond a doubt ; the plain, the mountain, and the relative position of the place with regard to other noted cities, agreeing in every point. The site also of the modern town, like that of the ancient, is on a gradual ascent, terminating near the foot of the eastern side of the mountain ; but there all trace of its past appearance would cease, were it not for two or three considerable elevations and overgrown irregularities on and near them ; which may have been the walls of the royal fortress, with those of the palaces, temples, and theatres seen no more. I passed one of these heights standing to the south-west, as I entered the city, and observed that it bore many vestiges of having been strongly fortified. The sides and summit are covered with large remnants of ruined walls of a great thickness, and also of towers, the materials of which were sun-dried bricks. It has the name of the Inner Fortress, and certainly holds the most commanding station near the plain. The city stands in latitude $34^{\circ} 53'$, and longitude 40° E. When it lost the name of Ecbatana in that of Hamadan, it seems to have lost all its honours too ; for while it preserved

the old appellation of the capital whence the great kings of the Kaianian race had dictated their decrees, and where Cyrus the king had placed in the house of the rolls of its palace the record wherein was written his order for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, it seems, with the retention of its name, to have preserved some memory of its consequence, even so far into modern times as three centuries after the commencement of the Christian era. It was then that Tiridates attempted to transfer its glories to his own capital, and, according to Ebn Haukel, the gradual progress of six hundred years mouldered away the architectural superiority of the ancient city. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it received its final blow, under the arms of Timour the Tartar, who sacked, pillaged, and destroyed its proudest buildings, ruined the inhabitants, and reduced the whole, from being one of the most extensive cities of the East, to hardly a farsang in length and breadth. In that dismantled and dismembered state, though dwindled down to a mere clay-built suburb of what it was, it possessed iron gates till within these fifty years; when Aga Mahomed Khan, not satisfied with the depth of so great a capital's degradation, ordered every remains of past consequence to be totally destroyed. His commands were obeyed to a tittle. The mud alleys which now occupy the site of ancient streets or squares, are narrow, in-

interrupted by large holes, or hollows in the way, and heaps of the fallen crumbled walls of deserted dwellings. A miserable bazaar or two are passed through in traversing the town; and large lonely spots are met with, marked by broken low mounds over older ruins; with here and there a few poplars and willow trees shadowing the border of a dirty stream, abandoned to the meanest uses, which probably flowed pellucid and admired, when these places were gardens, and the grass-grown heap some stately dwelling of Ecbatana. In one or two spots I observed square platforms, composed of large stones; the faces of many of which were chisselled all over into the finest arabesque fret-work, whilst others had in addition, long inscriptions in the Arabic character. They had evidently been tombstones of the inhabitants, during the caliph rule in Persia. But, when we compare relics of the seventh century with the deep antiquity of the heaped ruins on which they lie, these monumental remains seem but the register of yesterday. For what purpose, or when they were disturbed from their original destination, and arranged in their present order, are subjects of no easy conjecture. The only thing that appears for some years to have kept the place in any degree of notice with the modern Persians, is the manufacture of a superior sort of leather; but the very article of traffic proclaims the low order of popu-

lation to which it has been abandoned. As I passed the wretched hovelled streets, and saw the once lofty city of Astyages shrunk like a shrivelled gourd, the contemplation of such a spectacle called forth more saddening reflections than any that had been awakened in me on any former ground of departed greatness At present it does not number more than 9000 houses ; one-third of which do not increase the revenue to the crown, 3000 of them being inhabited by persons in the employment of the state, who are therefore not included in the taxation of the town. The population is calculated at between forty and forty-five thousand souls ; amongst whom are about six hundred Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians.

“The Jewish part of the inhabitants, with whom I conversed, shook their heads at the history of the Judean tomb on the mountain, but entered, with a solemn interest, into the questions I put to them respecting the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai ; the dome-roof of which rises over the low dun habitations of the poor remnant of Israel, still lingering in the land of their captivity. This tomb is regarded by all the Jews who yet exist in the empire, as a place of particular sanctity ; and pilgrimages are still made to it at certain seasons of the year, in the same spirit of holy penitence with which, in former times, they turned their eyes towards Jerusalem.

Being desirous of visiting a place which Christians cannot view without reverence, I sent to request that favour of the priest under whose care it is preserved. He came to me immediately on my message, and seemed pleased with the respect manifested towards the ancient people of his nation, in the manner with which I asked to be admitted to their shrine.....I accompanied the priest through the town, over much ruin and rubbish, to an inclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vicinity. In the centre was the Jewish tomb, a square building of brick, of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state; falling fast to the mouldered condition of some wall-fragments around, which, in former times, had been connected with, and extended the consequence of the sacred enclosure. The door that admitted us into the tomb, is, in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small; consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. Its key is always in possession of the head of the Jews resident at Hamadan.....The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. Certain devout Jews of the city stood to

the expense; and about a hundred and fifty years ago (nearly five hundred after its re-erection) it was fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael. On passing through the little portal, which we did in an almost doubled position, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis; probably one may cover the remains of the pious Ismael; and not unlikely the other may contain the bodies of the first rebuilders after the sacrilegious destruction by Timour. Having "trode lightly by their graves," a second door, of such very confined dimensions, presented itself at the end of this vestibule, [that] we were constrained to enter it on our hands and knees, and then standing up, we found ourselves in a larger chamber, to which appertained the dome. Immediately under its concave stand two sarcophagi, made of a very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of inscription in Hebrew running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions, in the same language, are cut on the walls; while one of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice at its demolition by the Tartars; and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot."²¹

The city of Rages or Ragæ in Media, is several times mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit (ch. iv. 1. 21; v. 8; ix. 3.) It was the capital of the province of Ragiana or Ragos,²² and is described by ancient writers as the largest of the cities of Media. The whole district was very fertile, but subject to violent and destructive earthquakes. The tradition of the Persians places the era of the foundation of Rages in a very remote antiquity, for it is said to have been built by Husheng, the grandson of Kayomorth, the first king of Persia. Alexander found Ragæ under this name on his first expedition through Media to Parthiene. It appears to have afterwards suffered much from earthquakes; for Seleucus Nicator was its second builder, and called it *Europos*,²³ probably after the name of his native town, under which appellation it is mentioned by Ptolemy. During the later wars with the Parthians, it was again levelled with the ground, when Arsaces restored it, and called it *Arsacia*. Yet notwithstanding the wishes of Seleucus and Arsaces, the ancient designation of the town survived through succeeding ages. Rai or Rei²⁴ (an abbreviation of the ancient name) became the residence of Mahomedan princes, and again attained such a size, that the Arabian writers of the middle ages speak of it as the largest and most populous city of Asia. During the inroads of the Tartars

in the twelfth century it was wholly destroyed, and its former site is now only indicated by scattered ruins. These lie a little more than five [English] miles south-east of Teheran, extending from the foot of the mountains, and running, in an oblique line, across the plains in the direction of south-west. The surface of the ground, all over this tract, is marked by hollows, mounds, mouldering towers, tombs, and wells. The remains of very strong fortifications are still discernible, which had been built of bricks that had been burnt or dried in the sun.²⁵

Media was one of the first independent kingdoms of ancient times. Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, contended with a king of the Medes, whom he conquered, and reduced the country to a province of Assyria. For five hundred and twenty years the Medes bore the Assyrian yoke. But when Tiglath-pileasar and Salmanassar began to depopulate whole countries in Western Asia, carrying off the inhabitants, and settling them in the towns of Media and other parts of Upper Asia, the patience of the Medes was exhausted. They rose in arms; and the defeat of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, his flight and murder, and the consequent disorganization of the Assyrian monarchy, completed their liberation. For six years they were exposed, through internal dissensions and party feuds, to a kind of anarchy; but at length, about

the year B. C. 700, Dejoces, who had acted as a prudent and upright arbitrator among opposing factions, was unanimously elected king. He reigned over Media alone, whose six tribes he united into one nation. But his son and successor Phraortes brought under the Median dominion, first the Persians, and then the whole of Upper Asia, as far as the river Halys, including Cappadocia. He afterwards advanced against the Assyrians, and besieged Nineveh, but there his army was defeated, and he himself slain. His son and successor, Cyaxares, resolved to avenge his father's death on the Assyrians; but, as he was about to resume the siege of Nineveh, the report reached him that the Scythians had invaded Media. He marched to oppose them, but was defeated; and it was not till after a twenty years' struggle that these barbarous foes were expelled from the country. Cyaxares then renewed his attack upon Nineveh, and took it, with the assistance of his ally Nabopalassar, the first king of Babylon, and Assyria now became a Median province. After Cyaxares, this great empire was inherited by his son Astyages, who, five and thirty years after, (about the year B. C. 556,) had to resign it to his grandson Cyrus, king of Persia.²⁶ Then arose the MEDO-PERSIAN KINGDOM. The "laws of the Medes and Persians" are, by the Hebrew writers, always mentioned together;²⁷ in Esther x. 2,

the annals of the kings of Media and Persia are spoken of as one ; and, indeed, from the period in question, the manners, religion, and civilization of the two countries became identified. We gather from the Zend books, that the Medes, Persians, and Bactrians, were originally one race of people,²⁸ who had in common one language, namely, *the Zend*, and one religion, the adoration of Ormuzd, the highest being, under the symbol of fire. The priests of this religion, the Magi, were a Median tribe, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of science, and the exercises of worship. It was from among them that arose, (certainly before the days of Cyrus,²⁹) *Zerdusht*, commonly called Zoroaster, who appeared as a reformer or restorer of the ancient religion, which, in the lapse of time, had become corrupted. Its professors are still found, under the name of Guebers, throughout Persia and India.³⁰

The Medes overthrew the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, which, being founded on the ruins of various states in Central Asia, had in a short period attained to considerable greatness. Among the lesser kingdoms annihilated by the Chaldeans was the Jewish, a large proportion of whose inhabitants were carried by the conquerors into the provinces of Babylon. When the Medo-Persian power, under Cyrus, was rapidly extending itself

by conquests and alliances, and assuming a threatening aspect towards Chaldea, the captive Jews were led to entertain the hope that the Medes would become (as had been predicted) the instruments of avenging them on their oppressors. The prophet Jeremiah (ch. li. 11,) says :

Sharpen the arrows, seize the shields !¹
 Jehovah hath roused the spirit of the kings of the MEDES ;
 For against Babylon is his purpose to destroy it.
 The vengeance of Jehovah is this,
 Even the vengeance of his temple.

And again, at verse 28 :

Enlist against her the nations,
 The kings of MEDIA, and the captains thereof,
 And all the rulers thereof,
 And all the land of his dominion.

Another prophet (Isa. xxi. 2,) calls to the Persians and Medes : "Go up (against Babylon) O Elam ! besiege, O Media !" In another part of his prophecy, the Medes are described as rude and barbarous warriors, (ch. xiii. 17, 18.)

Behold ! I will stir up against them the Medes,
 Who value not silver, and care not for gold :
 Their bows shall dash down the young men,
 And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb,—
 Their eye spareth not children.

With this agrees the language of Jeremiah, (chap. l. 42,) when he describes the enemies that

¹ The LXX. Vulg. Castalio, and Blayney, understand שִׁטִּים to mean *quivers*. Blayney has, "fill the quivers."—M.

were to come against Babylon from the north, though without specifying the Medes :

The bow and the spear shall they seize ;
Cruel are they and will shew no mercy.
Their voice shall roar as the sea,
And upon horses shall they ride,
In orderly array, as a man for battle,
Against thee, O daughter of Babylon !

That the Medes and Persians were archers, like the Parthians in after times, is mentioned by other ancient authors. Their bows were, according to Xenophon,³¹ three ells long, the arrows above two ells, and many used them on horseback. Xenophon³² confirms another fact, mentioned in the above quotation from Isaiah, namely, that the Medes so despised silver and gold, that they would not be bribed by the offer of them, to spare the life of a vanquished foe; for he introduces Cyrus as thus commending his Medes, when addressing the assembled army, “ Ye Medes ! and all who hear me, I know well that it is not from a desire of riches that ye have come out with me to the battle.”

The lands which constituted Media, form now, as in ancient times, part of the Persian monarchy. Each province has its own governor. The governor of Azerbaijan, in the year 1810, was Abbas Mirza,^a a son of the Shah.³³

^a This estimable prince, so deservedly a favourite with all English travellers, predeceased his father, the late Futtch Ali

1. The meaning of the name is unknown. Several conjectures are given by *Wahl*, in his *Asia*, p. 533.

2. *Strabo*, XI. 12. Comp. *Cellarii* Notit. Orb. Antiq. III. 18. *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans, B. V. Abth. 2, p. 120.

3. اذربيجان or اذربادگان. *Wahl* says, (loc. cit. p. 538,) that اذر or آذر (in Pehlevi *adur*, in Zend *atro*) signifies *fire*. باد is from *bad* in Pehlevi, (in Zend, *pate* or *petoesh*) and denotes *country, territory, dominion*. گان or جان *gan, jan* is like

جاي or گاه *place, land, country*. The whole then would mean *the land of the domain of fire*; since it was here that fire-worship was first introduced, and the country abounds in naphtha-springs more than any other part of Asia. The province, therefore, may have received its name from the fire-temples of which it had been the seat from the remotest antiquity.”^a

Shah, in 1833. But it is one of his sons, Mohammed Mirza who now occupies the throne of Persia, supported by the joint influence of Russia and England.—M.

^a The discrepancy in the way of writing the name of this province—Azerbaijan, Adserbijan, Aderbijan, &c., arises from the circumstance that the letter *z* which has in Persian the sound of *z*, is by the Arabs pronounced like *dh*. This is in fact one of the few purely Persian words in which that character occurs, as is remarked by Sir William Jones, (*Persian Grammar* by *Lee*, p. 6,) who agrees with *Wahl* in deriving it from اذر *fire*. A map of this province, drawn from personal

Comp. *Hyde*, Hist. Relig. Veter. Persar. Cap. 29, p. 358 and 424 of the second edition. *Langlès*, in a note to Chardin's Travels, (Tom. ii. p. 308,) thinks the name Azerbaidshan signifies *Fireman*, [fire-watcher or fire-worshipper.] The common notion which has been adopted from *Strabo* (loc. cit.) viz. that Atropatene was so called from Atropates, a Median Governor, who had preserved the province from Macedonian subjection—is the improbable conjecture of one to whom the real name of the country was unknown.

4. Loc. cit. in note 2.

5. Loc. cit. p. 365.

6. عراق العجم or عراق اعجمي. On the mean-

ing of the name Irak, *Reiske* observes: (Abulfedæ Annal. Moslemm. Tom. I. p. 228, Not. X.) Videtur haec provincia nomen accepisse ab عراق *rasit*, *ab-* observations, will be found in *Morier's* Second Journey; and the latest accounts of it in Colonel Monteith's "Tour through Azerbaijan," in the Journal of the Geographical Society for 1833.

According to Richardson's Dictionary, Wilkins' edition, re-edited by Johnson, آذر *ādar*, or آزر *āzar*, signifies *fire*, آذرباد *Azarbād*, The name of a priest of the magi, آذربادکن *Azar-bād-gān*, or آذربایکن *Azar-bāy-gān*, The name of a fire-temple in Tabriz, also Tabriz itself. By explaining the word as signifying the abode of the priest of fire, if آذرباد be a common name, or if it be a proper name, the mansion of *Azarbād*, we avoid the tautology to which Wahl's derivation, the land of the *poinain of fire*, seems exposed.—M.

sic. Nomen in genere notat omnem terram, quam mare aut fluvius alluit et radit, ἀκρη, in specie illam quae à sinu Persico, Tigride et Euphrate raditur; quemadmodum الساحل est in genere quaelibet ripa, in specie litus maris Phoenico-Syriaci. Quod autem *Irak* proprie sit *litus*, patet e Divan Hudeilitarum, ubi ad العراق السيف Scholiastes notat: العراق البحر.

Irak-el-Ajem, or *Irak-Ajemi*, denotes the Persian *Irak*, (comp. *Wahl* loc. cit. p. 216,) and this province was so designated, in order to distinguish it from العراق العرب the Arabian *Irak*, or العراق بابل the Babylonian *Irak*, by which names ancient Babylonia is understood. A high mountain-ridge Koflan-ku, separates Azerbijan from *Irak-Ajemi*. See Ker Porter's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 266.^a The boundaries of this province are given by that traveller thus (p. 306):

“*Irak-Ajem*, is bounded on the north by Azerbijan (which was also part of *Media*), Ghilan, and

^a The following are Porter's remarks :—“ We gradually approached the foot of the chain of mountains at the head of the valley, which here separate the province of Azerbijan from *Irak*, once so considerable a part of the famous kingdom of *Media*. These mountains are called the Koflan-kou. They are of very stupendous altitude; and are a branch of the sublime range which belongs to Kurdistan. Besides the grandeur of their form, which well accords with the character of a country, whose ancient laws, like these everlasting ramparts, were immovable; the varied hue of their rocks gives a magnificence to the view, admirably adapted to the recollections of a man, on entering the mere particular dominions of the great Cyrus.”—M.

Mazanderan (ancient Hyrcania); to the south by Farsistan and Kuzistan (ancient Susiana), to the west by Kurdistan, and to the east by Khorasan, and the Salt Desert."

7. Hence it likewise bears the Arabic name الجبال *El-Jebal*, and the Persian کوهستان, *Kōhistān*.

According to *Ker Porter* that is properly the name of the very mountainous part of Irak-Ajem, which lies between Hamadan and Kermanshah. *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 287. The mountains that run through Persian Irak, are an arm of the Taurus. Vol. II. p. 87. This quarter of Media is very probably the district of חרם Hara, mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 26, where a part of the captive Israelites were located by Tiglath-Pileser. חרם is a translation of the above Arabic and Persian names [q. d. *mountainous* from חר a mountain.] Now along with Hara, mention is made of the river Gosan גוזן, of which Porter says, (Vol. I. p. 267 :)

"A fine river flowed through the beautifully undulating land, (at the base of the Koffan-ku), and a noble bridge of three pointed arches crossed it. This river, which was the Amardus of Ptolemy, and said to have been the Gosan of scripture, owes its present appellation, the Kizzil-ouzan, to its yellow hue, the name being descriptive of such a peculiarity. Its course is very rapid, though in a serpentine direction; and being augmented by several streams, which rise near the town of Banna, in the north-eastern branch of the Kurdistan mountains, it pours majestically along through a vast stretch of hilly country northward, till it enters Ghilan, where, thundering forward, amidst the

most terrific scenery, it discharges itself at last into the Caspian Sea, to the east of Resht." Comp. Morier's Second Journey, p. 208.^a The conjecture that this is the Gozan derives probability from the circumstance, that the districts mentioned before Hara, namely, Chalach and Chabor, are likewise to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Media. *Chalach* is, according to Bochart, (Geogr. § III. 14, p. 220) the Calachene of Ptolemy, in the north of Assyria; and *Chabor* is Mount Chaboras, between Media and Assyria. Between that mountain and the Caspian Sea, there is, says Ptolemy, the district and Town of *Gausania*, i. e. Gosan, with a river of the same name. It is to be recollected, however, that in 2 Kings xix. 12, and Isaiah xxxvii. 12, Gosan is mentioned among the towns or provinces of Mesopotamia, which the Assyrian conqueror boasted of having subdued. But that is perhaps different from the river Gozan mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 26. [See the Appendix.]

^a Morier says:—"We departed very early the next morning, to cross the Kizzil Ozan River, and the Cofian Koh. The latter is a range of mountains, which would be well worthy the notice of a geologist. Its stratifications have been thrown together by some great commotion, into the most extravagant positions. In some places they are perpendicular, in others horizontal." Of the neighbouring tract, he says: "In some places it appears to have been nearly in a state of fusion, as if an immense volume of liquid soil had been set in motion, and its sluggish masses had settled themselves, as the impulse might lead them; in others, as if some powerful engine had broken these masses, and left them in unequal fragments."—M.

8. For example, the plains of Maranda.* (*Ker Porter*, I. 216), Hamadan, Kasvin, Tabris or Tauris, &c.

9. *Voyages*, Tom. II. p. 280. Edit. of Langlès.

10. *Ker Porter* says : (Vol. I. 246) " One morning, about the middle of the month of December, snow began to fall, accompanied by a tremendous wind from the north-east ; and before evening, the whole country was covered for several feet in depth. When the sky had quite unburdened itself, the weather became settled, and the sun continued to shine with a splendour, only to be seen in countries of such transparent atmosphere, where the brilliancy of the frosty medium gives to the air the dazzling effect of diamonds. This peculiar radiance of the day, with the cold at eight degrees of Reaumur, and the brightness of the night, at twelve, fourteen, and sixteen of the same, was certainly winter drest in its fairest garb ; but owing to the long prevalence of frost, the snow became like dust, and when the wind blew, it was whirled in clouds like the sand of the desert, filling up every path, high road, or hollow, in its way. This inconvenience is redoubled, when the snow already down meets accumulation from above. Hence it is considered great rashness to attempt going any distance from the city, when either the heavens are loaded, or the air turbulent ; for to be caught in any of these snow-storms is almost certain destruction. Many instances have occurred, where not only solitary individuals, but

* But Maranda, or Marande, instead of being a " fruitful plain," is described by *Porter*, as " barren and dreary."—M.

whole companies and caravans have been overwhelmed and perished. The track being soon covered, and the snow coming on in every direction, from drift, whirlwind, and the falling clouds, every land-mark is obscured, and the lost travellers, exhausted, benumbed, and abandoned to despair, are speedily sunk under the tremendous mass. One of the British officers now residing at Tabreez (1817) during a journey he made to Teheran two winters ago, narrowly escaped a similar fate. Every vestige of road was obliterated, and he, with his attendants, had wandered, and ploughed their way for several hours without a guide from earth or sky ; when, evening drawing on, they gave themselves up for lost. At this juncture they were providentially descried by some peasants from the roofs of their almost buried cabins. With instant despatch, but great labour, these good people cleared a path to the half perished travellers ; and by such prompt humanity rescued them from the most desolate of deaths." He adds, that as the Persians continue to wear light clothing, notwithstanding the severity of the season, " scarcely a day passes without one or two persons being found frozen to death in the neighbourhood of the town." In p. 441, he says, " at present (May 21st), no fruits are ripe here ; but cherries and plums are eaten as delicacies in their crude state." When *Della Valle* was at Hamadan, towards the end of January, the ice lay for several days in the streets, and even in his own chamber, where he kept up a good fire, liquids were frozen, the very ink becoming congealed in the glass. Travels, Part II. p. 10, 11, of

the Ger. Transl. Comp. *Olivier*, *Voyages*, Tom. V. p. 208.

11. مازندران، غیلان.

12. *Chardin*, Tom. III. p. 275. *Gmelin's Trav.* Part III. p. 425.

13. אֶחְמָתָא; the name has probably a similar signification with the Hebrew חֲמָת, *strong*.^a *Ilgen* on *Tobit*, III. 8, p. 165. Ἀγβάρανα (for which commonly Ἐγβάρανα) seems formed from אֶחְמָתָא, with the addition of the syllable *να*, and the commutation of the letter *m* for *b*. According to *Reland* (*Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers.* in his *Dissertt. Miscell.* Part II. p. 107), the name *Ecbatana*, is composed of the Persian words آق Lord, and آبادان Abadan, a cultivated and populous place.

14. בֵּית סַפְרִיא; literally *the house of the writings*, in Persian دارنوشت Dar-Newisht. This was the name of a part of the palace of the ancient Persian king *Gustasp*, or else of a separate building, in which he caused to be preserved a copy of the books of *Zoroaster*, written in letters of gold. See *Ouseley's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 344, 410, 542.

15. These are the statements of the Greek Text. The Vulgate, which *Luther* has followed, is somewhat different.

^a Hence the name of *Hamath* in Syria, the Epiphania of the Greeks. The radical idea is supposed by *Gesenius* to be "to surround with a wall, to strengthen." Arab. حما to guard.—M.

16. Book I. cap. 98. Comp. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 13.

17. Book XVII. 110.

18. Book X. 24.

19. Travels Vol. II. p. 101. Comp. Morier's Second Journey, p. 267. [See the Appendix.]

20. These gates are mentioned by *Ibn Haukal* in his Description of Persian Irak, edited by *Uylenbroek*, p. 5 of the Arab. Text. That the town was, at that period (the tenth century), though still flourishing, yet much reduced from its former greatness, appears from the circumstance, that it was only about one parasang square, and the houses were built of mud. Comp. at p. 49, and 82, of the Arab. Text, or p. 66 and 100, of the translation, the accounts which *Kaswini* and *Ibn Ayias* give of this town.

21. But that this is a false representation, is shewn by the inscription itself, as copied by *Ker Porter*, Vol. II. p. 109. For, excepting a passage from the Book of *Esther* (ch. viii. 15), and the whole of the sixteenth Psalm, it contains nothing but the information, that two brothers, *Elijah* and *Samuel*, caused this tomb to be restored in the year of the world 4474, that is the year 1713 of the Christian era. Another part of the inscription which follows this, is so incorrectly copied, that no tolerable sense can be made out of it. Still more imperfectly is it exhibited in *Morier's Second Journey*, p. 265. The translation given by *Porter* says a great deal that is not to be found in the Hebrew.

22. 'Páγας (in *Diodor. Sic. XIX. 44*), seems to have been the aboriginal name of the district. By the Greek geographers the town is called 'Páγα (ρά),

26. Herodot. I. 95, 130.

27. Esth. i. 19. Dan. vi. 8, 12. Esth. x. 2, et sæp. *On the seven princes of the Medes and Persians* (Esth. i. 14.) See the present work, Ch. VII. below.

28. *Rhode* on the sacred traditions of the Zend Nations (Ger.) p. 63.

29. Respecting the time when Zoroaster flourished, see the Researches of Heeren, Ideen, &c. B. I. Abth. I. p. 465, and *Rhode* in loc. cit. p. 135, 157.

30. Among the latest accounts of the Guebers is that by Ker Porter, Vol. II. p. 46. [See the Appendix.]

31. Anab. VI. 2, 16. Comp. *Herodot.* I. 61, and Ammianus Marcellinus, V. 1.

32. Cyropæd. V. 1, 10.

33. Morier's Second Journey, p. 240, 256.

come a scene of such desolation, that the footsteps of man are hardly discernible, 'except where they have left traces of war, and mark his grave.'---M.

CHAPTER VI.

ELAM.

ELAM,¹ which is mentioned in Gen. x. 22, as a tribe descended from Shem, the second son of Noah, is in Gen. xiv. 1, introduced along with the kingdom of Sinear (Shinar) or Babylon, and in Isa. xxi. 2, and Jerem. xxv. 25, is connected with Media. The Elamites are described in Esra iv. 9, among the nations of the Persian empire, and according to Dan. viii. 2, Susa lay on the river Ulai, that is the Eulæus or Choaspes, in the province of Elam. These accounts lead to the conclusion that Elam was the same land which was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the very similar name of *Elymais*.² This province formed a part of the ancient Susiana, or the modern Khusistan,³ a name which suggests the ancient Cossæi, who inhabited the northern mountains of Susiana, on the borders of Media.

Susiana or Khusistan, the *Elam* of scripture, is bounded on the east by Persis or Farsistan, on the west by Babylonia or Babylonian Irak,⁴

on the north by Media, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. This province is not unfrequently considered as a part of Persia Proper ; but in the division of the provinces, it was regarded as distinct from it, and constituted a peculiar satrapy, which was about half as large as Persis, and not quite so large as England. In the north and east this province is mountainous ; in the south, towards the coast, level and marshy. There reigns here, except during the winter months, a burning heat,⁵ as the high mountains on the north and east intercept every cooling breeze, and the country is only open to the parching south and west winds, which blow across the hot sands of the desert. The soil, which is watered by a number of rivers, is exceedingly fertile, and, besides growing much rice, coffee, and sugarcane, produces wheat and barley, which, in the days of Strabo⁶, yielded two hundred fold.⁷

Elam, or Susiana, was inhabited by various tribes of people. *The Elamæi* or *Elymæi*, along with the *Kissii*, seem to have been the oldest inhabitants, not only of Susiana Proper, but also of Persia ; hence, the writers of scripture comprehend under the name of Elam the country of the Persians generally. The *Elymæi* dwelt partly in the north, partly in the south of Susiana. In the latter, which is fertile, the inhabitants followed agriculture. In the north, which is mountainous, almost every man was a soldier and a

robber. As the Elymæi occupied the greater part of the country, they were able to bring into the field a considerable body of troops, who were mostly archers.⁸ In the high and rugged mountains which separate Susiana from Persis dwelt the *Uxii*,⁹ a barbarous and plundering tribe, who exacted tribute even of the Persian monarchs when they travelled from Susa into Persis. The *Cossæi*¹⁰ occupied the northern mountains of Susiana, on the borders of Media, and were, like the *Uxii*, a rude and uncultivated race, who despised all refinement of manners as effeminacy, and, though occupying a small and barren territory, yet sent into the field three thousand archers. It was in that capacity that all these tribes were chiefly celebrated, for in the description (in Isa. xxii. 6) of a hostile army that was to go forth against Jerusalem, it is said :

“ Elam bears the quiver,
And comes with chariots, footmen, and riders.”

When Jeremiah (ch. xlix. 34, *et seqq.*) threatens this people with conquest and subjugation, he begins with these words :

“ Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts !
Behold ! I break the bow of Elam,
The chief instrument of his might.”^a

In the centre of Susiana dwelt the tribe of the

^a The Eng. Vers. has “ the chief of their might.” Blayney
“ the principal part of their strength.”—M.

Kissii, from whom this province obtained the name of Kissia.¹¹ Here lay, on the east bank of the river Choaspes (now the Kerrah) Susa, the Shushan¹² of scripture, the capital of the whole country, and the ordinary residence of the Persian kings, who fixed their seat here, in order to be nearer the mighty Babylon.¹³ The city was, according to Strabo,¹⁴ one hundred and twenty stadia in circuit; according to Polycletus,¹⁵ it was two hundred, but without walls.¹⁶ Yet the royal castle was doubtless fortified, for it served as a citadel.¹⁷ Here were to be seen all those sumptuous edifices and other establishments demanded by the luxury of the Persian monarchs,—palaces, courts, and parks of vast extent.¹⁸ To these allusion is made in Esth. i. 5, where it is said that Ahashverosh (Ahasuerus) gave to all who were in his palace at Shushan, a feast for seven days in the “court of the garden of the king’s palace.”¹⁹ Alexander the Great found treasures in the chief town of every province of Persia, but here were preserved the private accumulated riches of the monarch. Though Alexander took away fifty thousand talents from these treasures, and divided them among his warriors,²⁰ yet Antigonous found nearly five-and-twenty thousand remaining.²¹ Of all the former greatness of this city, the only remains now are scattered ruins and heaps of rubbish, which extend from nine [English] miles west of the town of Desphoul for

about twelve or thirteen miles along the east bank of the river Kerrah, the Choaspes or Ulai²² of the ancients.²³ They consist chiefly of ruinous piles of bricks, which had been made of mud and dried in the sun, like those of Babylon; for this is the only building material found in the neighbourhood of either city.²⁴ There is nothing among those relics particularly deserving of notice, except a few blocks covered with hieroglyphics,²⁵ and (about two miles from the river) two pyramidal mounds, the one in circumference a mile, the other nearly two. The inhabitants of the country distinguish them by the names of *the Castle* and *the Palace*. At the foot of the larger mound there stands a small building with a cupola, in which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. That he lived in Susa, and there enjoyed prophetic visions, is expressly mentioned in the book which bears his name, ch. viii. 2. The place where he died is not indeed specified in the Bible; yet the tradition, preserved among the Jews and Arabs, that he was buried in Susa, may, nevertheless, be well founded.²⁶

Respecting the early history of Elam, or Susiana, the extant Greek and Roman writers are silent. From the intimations given in the Old Testament, we are led to conclude, that it was once an independent state, with its own kings; for, so early as the time of Abraham, (Gen. xiv.

1,) we find mention made of a king of Elam, Chedorlaomer, who had extended his conquests to the west across the Euphrates, as far as the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Certain petty princes in the valley of Siddim (whose place is now occupied by the Dead Sea,) had been for twelve years tributary vassals of this king of Elam, but at length resolved to throw off the yoke. Whereupon he allied himself with three other kings, and, marching against them, was at first successful; but upon Abraham advancing to their succour, the four kings were defeated and driven out of the country. Among the mighty and victorious nations who had been the terror of the world, but were "to go down with the uncircumcised into the pit," Ezekiel (ch. xxxii. 24,) mentions Elam. At the same period, namely, the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, the last Jewish king, about the year B. C. 590, Jeremiah, in denouncing judgments against other Asiatic states, directs a prediction against Elam, (ch. xlix. 34, et seqq.) threatening it with conquest and destruction by the Chaldeans (comp. v. 30); and it is probable that Nebuchadnezzar, after he had subdued Western Asia, added Elam also to his possessions, and incorporated it with his empire. Hence we find the prophet Daniel, (ch. viii. 1, 2.) under the reign of Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar's successor, residing in Susa, the capital of Elam, a province then subject to that mo-

narch. But when the Chaldaeo-Babylonian empire was soon after overthrown by the Medes, Elam came, along with the other countries which composed it, under the Median dominion ; and hence, in Isa. xxi. 2, and Jer. xxv. 25, Elam and Media are mentioned together.

In the first book of Maccabees, (ch. vi. 1, 2,) it is said that Antiochus Epiphanes, having heard that there was a rich temple at Elymais, a city of Persia, went to attack and plunder it ; but that he was repulsed by the inhabitants. The city of Elymais, or Elam, we should naturally look for in the province of the same name ; but neither Greek nor Roman writers make any mention of it.²⁷ Various attempts have been made to reconcile the discrepancy ;²⁸ but as no precise knowledge of distant countries could well be expected in a Jew of those times, it is not unlikely that the writer, by a geographical error, mistook a Persian province for a town.²⁹ The second book of Maccabees, which is entitled to little credit, mentions (ch. ix. 2,) instead of Elymais, Persepolis, although that city had been destroyed by Alexander the Great long before the time of Antiochus. Polybius,³⁰ on the other hand, agrees more with the first book of Maccabees ; only he does not mention any city of Elymais, but says, that Antiochus Epiphanes undertook an expedition to Elymais, in order that he might enrich himself with the treasures of the

temple of Diana, but was prevented by the inhabitants of the country. Appian³¹ speaks of a temple of Venus in Elymais, which Antiochus had endeavoured to plunder. Finally, Strabo³² and Diodorus Siculus,³³ relate that Antiochus the Great, the father of Antiochus Epiphanes, sought to pillage the temple of Bel in Elymais, but was slain by the barbarians. All these appear to be different versions of the same story, namely, that an unsuccessful attempt had been made by a king Antiochus, to plunder a temple in Elymais or Elam.

1. עִילָם. *Wahl* (Asien, p. 603,) conjectures, that the name comes from the Pehlevi word *Halæh* or *Halæm*, which signifies *pure, clear*, and was designed to betoken the fair and serene sky of the country. According to an ancient belief, the Persians sprang from the Elamites. It is noticed by *Josephus*, Antiq. l. 6, 4, "Ελυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἑλυμαίου, Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας, κατέλειπεν. The Syrian lexicographer, *Bar-Bahlul*, likewise says, in a passage quoted by *Hyde*, (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers., p. 423 of the second edit.), that the Persians were descended from Elam, the son of Seth. Yet this tradition does not authorise us to say with *Hyde* (p. 422,) that the most ancient biblical name of Persia is *Elam*. The conjecture of *Tychsen* (de Cuneatis Inscriptt. Persepolit. p. 10, 13) that עִילָם *Elam* is the same as ایران *Iran*, is too fanciful. That the Elamites and the Persians were originally one people is often asserted, but has never

yet been proved. The difference of their languages renders it very improbable. It is correctly remarked by Schulthess (*Das Paradies*, p. 285): "The Persian dialects, which prevail as far as the Indus, are so different from the Shemitic, that we cannot well class the Persians among Shemite nations. When, therefore, it is said in the Bible, that Elam was a descendant of Shem, we are not to understand the territory, so called, to extend on the east and north beyond Susiana, which had the mountains of Luristan for its northern boundary, while on the south, as far as the sea coast, a branch of these mountains divided it from Persis." But when the learned author goes on to say, that the descent of the Elamites from Shem is confirmed by the accounts of later eastern writers, quoted by Assemani, (*Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. 758*), and bearing, "that the common language in Susiana is the Syriac," he appears to have been misled by *Mannert*, who, in his *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, P. V. Abth. 2, p. 469, makes the same reference. Yet neither in that part of Assemani's work, nor in the article Elam or Susiana, is there any such assertion.

2. See *Cellarii* Notit. Orbis Antiq. P. II. Lib. III. Cap. 19, p. 686. *Assemani*, loc. cit. p. 419. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 468.

3. خوزستان, *Khuzistan*: also, خورستان *Khuzistan*. Both modes of spelling are given by Abulfeda. See *Michaelis* Spicil. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. P. II. p. 68. *Wahl* (*Asien*, p. 598) holds them both to be correct, as Moses of Chorene (*Geogr.* p. 36) had

done before him ; and it would appear that *Khuristan* is the general name of the whole country, but *Khuzistan* was originally only the special name of the chief province. The name *Khuristan*, formed out of *Khor* or *Chor*, which in ancient Persian signifies *light, the sun*,^a (thence *clear, pure*,) and *Stan*, a place or country, describes the climate of the province which is blessed with a clear sky and a pure and salubrious atmosphere ; while *Khuzistan* or *Hu-sistan*, denotes that part of the country which was inhabited by the Uxii, called by Syrian writers *Hu-soye*, ܡܫܝܐ. In Gen. xiv. 1 Saadias puts for עִילָם *Elam*, the name خورستان *Khuristan*.

4. From that province it is separated by the Hamreen Hills. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 830. [Respecting these *Ker Porter* says :] “ The rocky ground we had just left is part of a long ridge of high uneven country, called the Hamreen Hills, which stretches eastward towards Kuzistan, the Susiana of Cyrus, and the dominion of his friends the celebrated Abradates and Panthea. These hills are the last considerable heights we had to pass, before we should behold the vast and almost uninterrupted level of that part of ancient Babylonia which lies north of the Tigris.” Vol. II. p. 236. And again, at p. 430, “ Soon after quitting our inhospitable quarters (at Adna Koyi) this morning, we began to ascend the Hamreen Hills, the great natural wall of the Chaldean plains. For the first hour of our ascent, our passage was over a succes-

^a Hence too, the Persian name of Cyrus, *Khorshid*, i. e. sunny-splendour.—M.

sion of rocky ledges, divided by long tracks of cultivated soil, or similar intervals of sand or gravel, all bearing marks of the force of waters, which gush over them in the seasons of thaw. On gaining the highest point, an extensive view broke upon us, shewing the serpentine windings of the Diale to the southward, and the distant level of the Chaldean plain, alternately tracked with water, or date groves, as far as the eye could reach. Northward lay the devious branches of the hills we were upon; and the snow-clad mountains of Courdistan mingled with the clouds."

5. See *Strabo*, XV. 3. 10, p. 731. Casaubon's Edit.

6. *Ibid.* § 11.

7. *Otter's Voy. en Perse*. Tom. II. p. 49.

8. *Strabo*, XV. 3. 12, p. 732.

9. *Ibid.* § 2 and 6, p. 728, 729. *Plinii Hist. Nat.* VI. 27. *Assemani Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II., p. 758. See above, Note 3.

10. *Strabo*, XI. 12. 6, p. 524.

11. *Ibid.* XV. 3. 2, p. 728. *Herodot.* V. 49.

12. שושן. *Dan.* viii. 2. *Neh.* i. 1. *Esth.* i. 2, 5, et sæp. The Hebrew word, like the Persian سوسان or سوسام, signifies a *lily*. That the town received its name from the lilies that abound in the neighbourhood, or from its pleasant situation generally, has been remarked by *Athenæus*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, as cited by *Bochart* in his *Geog. Sac.* P. II., or *Canaan*, II. 14, p. 833. According to *Kinneir* (*Memoir on the Persian Empire*, p. 98,) *Shus* in Pehlevi signifies "pleasant." Susa was built, according to

some, by Cyrus, according to others, by Darius the son of Hystaspes (Plinii Hist. Nat. VI. 27); and from the time of Darius it appears to have been the ordinary residence of the Persian monarchs. Tradition placed its origin in much earlier times, having ascribed its foundation to an ancient hero, Memnon, whence also it received the name of Memnonium. *Herodot.* V. 53, 54. *Strabo*, XV. 3. 2, p. 727. A great deal has been collected out of ancient writers respecting Susa by *Brisson*, de Reg. Persarum Principatu, I. 68.

13. *Strabo*, *ibid.* § 2, p. 727. According to *Xenophon* (Cyrop. VIII. 6. 22), Cyrus was in the habit of spending the three spring months at Susa. *Athenæus* (Book XII. p. 513), says the kings of Persia had their residence at Susa in winter, and in summer at Ecbatana, which was farther north.

14. *Ibid.* § 2, p. 728.

15. In *Strabo*, loc. cit.

16. See Mannert's Geog. of the Greeks and Romans, Part V. Abth. 2, p. 483.

17. *Mannert*, loc. cit.

18. See Stephen of Byzantium, under Σούσα.

19. Esth. i. 5. בְּחֹצֵר גִּנָּת בֵּיתֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ.

20. *Diodor. Siculus*, XVII. 65.

21. *Ibid.* XIX. 48.

22. As to the river upon which Susa lay, the accounts of the ancients are different. *Arrian* (Exped. of Alex. VII. 7), and *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. VI. 31), place Susa on the river Eulæus, which name is not different from the Ulai, אֱוֵלַי, the river upon which, according to Dan viii. 2, Susa was situated. On the other hand,

Herodotus (V. 49), *Strabo* (XV. 3. 4, p. 728), and others, place the city on the river Choaspes. *Ker Porter* (Travels, Vol. II. p. 412) finds the Choaspes in the river which is now called the Kerrah; and the Eulæus or Ulai in the river Desphoul or Abzal. But it appears from the researches of *Wahl* (Asia, p. 736), and *Hoeck* (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monumenta, p. 93), that Choaspes and Eulæus, are different names of one and the same river, the modern Kerrah, on the eastern bank of which the ruins of Susa are found.

Wahl explains Choaspes by كوه اسب *Koh-asp* i. e. mountain-strength, which was a designation common to mountain streams, and was specially given to those of Khusistan, which come down from the chain of Lur. Eulæus and Ulai he explains from the Pehlevi words *Av Halaèh*, i. e. pure, clear, excellent water.

23. Some erroneously assign to Susa the site of the modern town of Toster or Shuster. See *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 96.

24. The ruins of Susa have been described from ocular inspection by *Kinneir* in his Memoir, p. 99, and by *Ker Porter* in his Trav. Vol. II. p. 411. Comp. *Hoeck*, loc. cit., p. 95.

25. See *Kinneir*, p. 100. *Ker Porter*, p. 414, 415.

26. Comp. *Huet's Demonst. Evang.*, p. 467. Leipzig Edit. *Josephus*, (Antiq. X. 11. 4) speaks of a celebrated building at Ecbatana, which was constructed by Daniel with so much art, that even in his days it appeared as beautiful as if it had been recently

erected. In this building the Persian and Parthian kings were buried; and, in compliance with the wishes of the founder, the situation of governor was always given to a Jew. But instead of Ecbatana in that passage, we ought, no doubt, to read Susa. For Jerome, in his Comment. on Dan. viii. 2, quoting the very words of Josephus, calls the town Susa, and so he must have read in his copy of Josephus. The latter gives to the erection the name of *βάρης*, which word is evidently the same as *בִּירָה*, the term always used of the palace or castle of Susa, Dan. viii. 2. Neh. i. 1. Esth. i. 2; ii. 3, 8; iii. 15. That Daniel was royal governor in Susa seems intimated in Dan. viii. 27, where it is said "he attended to the king's business." [See the Appendix.]

27. See *Cellarii Orb. Antiq. Not. Tom. II. Lib. III. 19, 3, 29, p. 689.*

28 *Fröhlich* in the Prolegom. to his *Annal. Syr.* p. 33, thinks that by Elymais is to be understood Persepolis, which [as is mentioned in the text] was the notion of the author of the second book of *Maccabees* in ch. ix. 2: *Recte uterque sacer historicus urbis nomen adscripsit, Hebraicum alter, alter Graecum. Autor libri. I. Hebraeos sequi solitus, qui et Hebraice historiam suam conscripsit, Hebraico nomine usus est. Siquidem Elam Hebraice, Elama Syriace Persidem aut Persidis partem significat. Ex Elama Elamais seu Elymais formatum est, quod Persicam urbem aequè ἀντονομαστικῶς significat, atque Graecum Περσέπολις Persiae urbem, et si τὸ urbs non sit expresse adjectum. Graeco autem vocabulo libri II. scriptor usus, quem Graecorum et annum et*

linguam sibi familiares habuisse constat. But this has been sufficiently refuted by Gottl. *Wernsdorff* in his *Comment. de Fide Histor. Libror. Maccabeor*, p. 59, et seqq. J. D. *Michaelis* in the Notes to his Ger. Transl. of the First Book of Maccabees, p. 123, conjectures that in the Hebrew original the words may have been מדינת בפרס עילם and as מדינת may denote a town as well as a province, the Greek translator put Ἐλυμαίς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πάλαι. *Michaelis*, however, is of opinion, that the temple which Antiochus would have plundered, was really in a city called Elymais, and that the silence of Greek and Roman writers respecting such a place does not disprove its existence.

29. If, according to what is advanced in the text, there never was such a city as Elymais, the conjecture of *Ker Porter* (*Travels*, II. p. 432), falls to the ground, that it stood where are the ruins of Kangovar or Con-cobar, between Hamadan and Kermanshah.

30. In a fragment of his 31st Book, de Vertutibus et Vitiis, p. 1453. Edit. of Gronovius. *Josephus* (Ant. XII. 9, 1), closely follows the first Book of Maccabees.

31. Syriac, p. 131.

32. XVI. 1. 18, p. 744.

33. XIX. Tom. II. p. 573, 575. Wesseling's Edit.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSIA.

THE land, whence issued the conquerors who once ruled over the countries and people of Asia from Indus to the Mediterranean, and from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, is FARS or Farsistan,¹ in the Bible Paras,² and by the Greeks and Romans called Persis.³ It still lies within the boundaries which we find assigned to it by the ancients. On the east it adjoins Ker-man or Karamania; on the north Mount Ap-rassia, the Parachoathras of antiquity, separates it from Irak-Adjem, or southern Media; on the south it is bounded by Laristan and the Persian Gulf; and on the west it is divided by the Bakh-tiari Mountains from Khuzistan. The country included within these limits is, according to Chardin's estimate,⁴ as large as France. That a tract of such extent should be of very different climates and capabilities, in different places, is naturally to be expected. The southern part, or the coast lying on the Gulf which takes its name from the country, is a sandy plain, which the heat and drought of the climate, and the pes-

tilential winds that blow across the deserts of Kerman, render almost uninhabitable. But, at some distance from the coast, the ground rises, and the interior of the country towards the north is everywhere intersected by high mountains, whose tops are for six or eight months of the year covered with snow. The natural heat of the climate is thereby moderated; and the middle part of Farsistan consists of the most fruitful valleys and plains. In the plain of Merdasht or Persepolis, which is eighteen or nineteen leagues in length, and from three to six in breadth, there reigns a perpetual spring. It nourishes the finest horses and cattle in Persia, and the fruits which it produces are excelled only by those of the valley of Shiraz.⁵ This last is eight leagues long, and from four to five broad. No where are fatter sheep reared than here, and the pomegranates, grapes, and wines of Shiraz, are the best in all Persia. Both districts are watered by countless springs and rivulets. Along with the most luxuriant fertility of soil and the most excellent natural productions, the vale of Shiraz combines the greatest salubrity of climate.⁶ Notwithstanding the great abundance of running water, there falls round Shiraz in summer as little dew as in the country of Ispahan; and even at the other seasons of the year, when a polished blade is exposed to the nightly dews, the steel does not in the least become rusted. In the northern

part of Farsistan, the mountains, which are a branch of the chain of Taurus, are higher and more rugged; and though they comprise several fertile vallies, yet, being on the whole ill adapted for tillage, they are generally fit only for the residence of nomadic shepherds. The soil here is very arid and barren;⁷ and the climate withal so ungenial, that the mountains are seen clothed with snow even in the hottest seasons. This mountain territory was the original seat of the conquerors and rulers of Asia. Rendered hardy by the severity of their climate, they found it comparatively easy to subdue the effeminate people of the plains; but the dominion of the Persians over so many rich and luxurious nations had the usual consequence, that they themselves became at length sunk in the same degeneracy.

In the south-east part of Persia, beyond the naked plains, and within the principal pass of the mountains that run along the Persian Gulf, was the great national sanctuary, the seat of the palaces and tombs of the ancient Persian kings, at *Pasargadæ* and *Persepolis*,—the ruins of which are still contemplated with admiring astonishment. In the beautiful valley, watered by the river Kyros,^a (the modern Bend-Emir,⁸) and now

^a Or Cyrus. In Persian, it is the *Kour-ab*, and it is also called "the Araxes;" but it is not to be confounded with the more northerly rivers of the same names.—M.

called Marvdasht or Mardasht,⁹ rose the palace and tomb of Cyrus,¹⁰ at Pasargadæ or Persagadæ, on the spot where, having been chosen leader of the Persian tribes, he conquered the Medes under Astyages, and thereby laid the foundation of his dominion over Western Asia. In memorial of this victory he founded Pasargadæ, which he made the seat of his court, and the store-house of his treasures, and which, as Plutarch informs us, became the place of the coronation of the kings of Persia, where the newly elected sovereign was consecrated by the Magi.¹¹ There also Cyrus built a tomb, which Arrian¹² thus describes, from the account of Aristobulus, who had visited the spot, " At Pasargadæ there is in the royal paradise the tomb of Cyrus. A grove of various trees has been planted round about; it is abundantly supplied with water; and the fields are covered with high grass. The tomb below is of a quadrangular shape, built of freestone; above there is a house of stone, with a roof. The door which leads into it is so very narrow, that a man, not very tall, can with difficulty get into it. Within the room is a golden coffin, near which there is a seat with feet of gold, and the whole is hung round with purple cloth, and Babylonish tapestry. The other draperies are also of fine Babylonish and Median work, richly dyed in violet, purple, and other colours; and there are,

moreover, chains, scimitars, and ear-rings of gold, set with precious stones. In the neighbourhood a small house was built for the magian, to whom, from father to son, the custody of the tomb was entrusted from the days of Cambyses. The king gave them daily a sheep, a measure of corn and wine, and once a month a horse, as an offering to Cyrus." Darius Hystaspes seems to have extended the plan of Pasargadæ^a towards the south-east, as far as the river which flows from the mountain now called Rachmet; and these later and more ancient sites and monuments were together called by the Greeks PERSEPOLIS.¹³ Here were the tombs of the successors of Cyrus, hewn out in a marble rock, and surrounded with palaces and colonnades.¹⁴ "On the east side of the citadel, says Diodorus Siculus,¹⁵ four hundred feet distant, is the *King's hill* (or royal mountain,) in which are the tombs of the kings. The rock is there excavated, and contains several chambers. There is however no easy access to them, for the coffins are drawn up the rock and placed in the cavities by means of machinery, and no other way of ascending to them exists." Ctesias¹⁶ says still more expressly, that Darius, the son of

^a By thus placing Pasargadæ in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, Rosenmüller rejects the idea of Morier and others, that it was at Mourg-aub, and consequently he does not, with these writers, identify the building called "the tomb of Solomon's mother," with the tomb of Cyrus. See the Appendix.—M.

Hystaspes, the same who confirmed the permission given to the Jews by Cyrus to rebuild their temple, had caused a sepulchre to be prepared for himself while he yet lived, in the double mountain; but when it was completed, the Chaldean soothsayers forbade him to enter it during his life under a penalty of some terrible danger. Darius was intimidated, but some princes of his family could not resist a strong curiosity which impelled them to view its interior. They went up to the mountain, and, by their desire, were to be drawn up by the priests, who officiated there; but in the act, while they yet hung between earth and air, the sudden appearance of some serpents on the rock so terrified the people above that they let go the ropes, and the princes were dashed to pieces." There are still seen on the side of the mountain several splendid façades of tombs, very like to each other; and the situation and appearance so completely agree with the descriptions of Diodorus and Ctesias, that it can scarcely be doubted that one of them is the tomb of Darius. "After scrambling, says Chardin,¹⁷ with great difficulty from the foot of the hill (which is six hundred paces from the pillars) up to the rock, where there is no pathway, we came to two monuments, which appear to me the most extraordinary and magnificent relics of antiquity in the place. They are four hundred paces apart from each other, at an equal

distance from the top and bottom of the hill, and consist of two tombs, excavated in the rock with wonderful art, considering its extreme precipitancy." The tradition of the country marks out the one towards the east as the tomb of Darius.¹⁸ The whole, which is seventy-two feet broad, and upwards of a hundred and thirteen high, forms the façade of a building of two stories, the lowermost of which has a false door between two pillars, while the upper consists of sculptured representations and other ornaments. In the uppermost compartment there is the figure of a venerable old man, with a strung bow in his hand, who stands before an altar upon which fire is burning. High above the altar there is a globe; and over the human figure there is another very similar, except that instead of a bow he holds a ring, and only the upper part of him is visible.^a ¹⁹ This representation, according to the acute and probable conjecture of Heeren,²⁰ exhibits the king *as a follower of Zoroaster, and worshipper of Ormuzd*. The figure standing before the altar is the king known by the *bow* in his hand, with which the Persian monarchs were usually delineated, inasmuch as it was the symbol of skill and bravery

^a These accounts from Chardin and Le Bruyn being now obsolete, and in various respects incorrect, I have given in the Appendix the more recent and accurate description by Sir R. K. Porter, who examined the interior of one of the tombs by the same method as the unfortunate kinsmen of Darius, but with a less fatal result —M.

in war as well as in the chase. Upon the *altar* burns the *sacred fire*, the emblem of the primordial element, the creative energy of the Godhead, whose principal servant the king was. He was bound to testify daily his adoration of it, and when he died, it was put out. The *globe* which floats above the altar is the *sun*, which, under the name of *Mithra*, was worshipped by the Persians, especially at its rising, with their faces towards it. The winged half-figure above the image of the king is his *Feruer*. This name denotes in the Zend books the originals, or first elements of the formal substance of every being. In their essential nature they are made of light, and as the primitive, moulding and energizing principles, though their outward forms perish, they themselves continue indestructible.²¹ Hence *the ring*, as the symbol of *endless duration*.^a

The Persians were originally a nomadic mountain race, inhabitants of a rugged and poor country, and strangers to the wants of civilized and social life, as refined by the influence of science and art.²² Like all extensive pastoral tribes, they were divided into many different septs, of

^a The *Feruer*, (otherwise written *Ferwer*, *Feroher*,) is thus a kind of spiritual prototype of the man; and yet it is supposed to constitute only a part of the human soul, being merely the principle of sensation. For besides this, there are, according to the Zend creed, four other principles, viz. the *Boe* or intelligence; the *Rouh* or practical judgment, imagination, volition; the *Akho* or conscience, and the *Jan*, or animal life.—M.

which Herodotus (I. 125,) expressly mentions ten. Three of these, among whom the Pasargadæ were the principal, constituted the nobility; three others followed the practice of agriculture; the remaining four were wandering shepherds, but, in the event of war, they joined their countrymen, forming themselves into troops of cavalry. The noblest family of the noblest race, was the Achæmenides.²³ From among them were chosen the heads and leaders of the nation. Subdued by Phraortes, king of the Medes, the Persians were under the Median dominion for about fifty years. But, in the year B. C. 555, or 560, one of the Achæmenides, called *Agradad*,²⁴ the son of the tributary king of Persis, Cambyses, and the Median princess Mandane, was chosen leader of the Persian tribes, and at their head made war against his maternal grandfather Astyages, who, when he was an infant, had sought to cut him off.²⁵ After two success-

* The classical reader will perceive, that in this sketch of the early history of Persia, the author prefers the authority of Herodotus to that of Xenophon; though by some, the narrative of the latter, with all its fictions, is thought, in several important particulars, more accordant with the accounts of scripture. Our accomplished countryman Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, ingeniously endeavours to identify the Cyrus of Herodotus with the Kei Khosroo of the *شاه نامه* *Shah Nameh*, (i. e. the *History of Kings*.) the great epic of the Persian poet Ferdousi. See Note 31, to the present chapter.—M.

ful battles, in the last of which he took his grandfather prisoner, he became lord of the Median empire, and exchanged his original name for *Khorshīd*, i. e. "splendour of the sun"^{a26} which the Hebrews abridged to *Koresh*,²⁷ the Greeks to *Kuros*, and the Romans to *Cyrus*. Under him the Persians became not only an independent but a conquering people; for the dethronement of King Astyages involved Cyrus in wars, which issued in the subjection of the Lydian and Babylonian empires. Crœsus was king of Lydia when Cyrus mounted the Median throne. Partly as a relative of the deposed and captive monarch, partly as a neighbour of the new Medo-Persian king, (for Crœsus had subdued Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys,) he saw with dissatisfaction the Median empire in the power of a Persian, and resolved to attempt his overthrow. In order to carry his scheme the more successfully into effect, he strengthened himself by alliances with Labynit or Nabonned, king of Babylon, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were then the most considerable and warlike people of Greece. The view of this powerful confederacy, and the prospect of the wars in which it would involve him, induced Cyrus to commit the government of the Median empire

^a See the foot-note from *Abulfeda* at p. 249.—M.

to his mother's brother, Cyaxares (the Second), who, in Dan. vi. 1, is styled Darius the Mede.²⁸ By seeming to share the crown with him, Cyrus was enabled to devote all his energies to the prosecution of foreign wars, without having any thing to dread on the part of his Median subjects. Croesus, relying on the apparently favourable responses of oracles, and the expected aid of his allies, commenced hostilities; he crossed the Halys with a considerable army, laid waste Cappadocia, and upon Cyrus coming up in large force to oppose him, the two armies met, and fought a bloody, but indecisive battle. As Cyrus on the following day shewed no disposition to renew the contest, Croesus retreated towards Sardis, in the hope of being able, early in spring, to attack his enemy with an army reinforced by a numerous body of confederates. But Cyrus pursued him forthwith, overtook him in the neighbourhood of his own capital, Sardis, and compelled him to take refuge within its walls. In vain did Croesus expect to hold out till the arrival of his allies; the city was soon stormed, and the monarch, with his kingdom, fell into the hands of Cyrus, in the year B. C. 557. After this, the conqueror dispatched his generals Mazares and Harpagus, native Medes, to subdue Lower Asia, and especially the Greeks of that region, while he himself moved towards Upper Asia, where, according to the expression of He-

rodotus,²⁹ he overcame one people after another, without passing one by. After he had brought Babylon also under his dominion, (B. c. 538) Cyaxares II. fixed his seat there, and, until the third year after its capture (when he died), was considered king of Babylon, as he had been of Media, while Cyrus continued to pursue his successes in the field. Xenophon³⁰ affirms, that after the death of Cyaxares he subdued the Egyptians also, leaving them however their constitution and regal government. The Persian Empire already extended northward to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, when Cyrus resolved to attack the Massagetæ, a warlike people on the east side of the Caspian. But this expedition had a fatal issue; for, in a battle with Queen Tomyris, he was defeated and slain³¹ in the year B. c. 530. Cyrus was an upright and gentle ruler,³² and treated the people he conquered with great indulgence. This likewise he manifested towards the colony of Jews, whom the Chaldæo-Babylonian monarchs had transported from their native country to the eastern provinces of that kingdom. Scarcely was Cyrus master of Babylon, when he granted to the Jews permission to return to the land of their fathers, and to rebuild their temple, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i. 1—4.³³ He thus fulfilled the anticipations of inspired Jewish seers, who, long before the overthrow of the Chaldean dy-

nasty, had announced him as a conqueror, favoured of Jehovah, and saw in him the future deliverer of their countrymen. Isaiah (ch. xli. 2—5.)

Who raised him up from the east
And sent victory on his path ?
Who gave him nations for a prize,
And made him rule over kings ?
Who caused that before his sword they were dust,
Before his bow as driven stubble ?
He pursued them and went on safely,
Even by the way that his feet had never trode ?
Who hath done this and accomplished it ?
I who call up generations from the beginning—
I, Jehovah, the first and with the last—I am He.
Lands saw it and feared !
The ends of the earth trembled !

And farther on, the name of the conqueror thus described is expressly mentioned (ch. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1, 4,) Jehovah being introduced saying :

I am he who saith to Koresh :
“ My shepherd *is* he, and shall perform all my pleasure,”
Even he shall say to Jerusalem, “ Thou shalt be built,”
And to the temple, “ Thou shalt be founded.”
Thus speaks Jehovah to his anointed, to Koresh,
Whom I hold by his right hand—
Before whom I subdue nations,
And ungird the loins^a of kings—
Before whom I open gates,
And to *whom* doors shall not be shut.
I will go before thee, and level the heaps,
Brazen gates I will burst, and iron bars I will sever,
I will give thee deep-hidden riches, and secreted treasures,³⁴

^a That is, *disarm, deprive of strength.*

That thou mayest know that I am *Jehovah* !
He who calleth thee by name, the God of Israel !
For the sake of Jacob, my servant,
And of Israel my chosen,
I called thee by thy name,——
Yea, I named thee, ere thou knewest me.

Cyrus had, in his eldest son Cambyses, called in Ezra, ch. iv. 6, Ahasuerus (*Ahashverosh*,³⁵) a very unworthy successor. In place of a wise, upright, and mild governor, there reigned an imbecile and barbarous tyrant.³⁶ After he had, in the fifth year of his reign, reduced Egypt to a Persian province, and afterwards subdued Cyrene, Barca, and Libya, from Lower Egypt to the Greater Syrtis, he sought to pursue his conquests towards the west and south. Resolving to attack the Carthaginians by sea, and the Ammonians by land, he despatched spies among the *Æthiopians*, under pretence of an embassy. But the expedition to Carthage fell to the ground, because the *Phœnicians*, upon whom the naval power of the Persians entirely depended, refused to allow their ships to be employed against their own colonists. He sent, however, from Thebes fifty thousand men into the Great Oasis, to plunder and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but this army was overwhelmed in the desert by a tempest of sand, and miserably perished through their monarch's infatuation. He himself had moved with the rest of his troops towards *Æthiopia*, but before they

had advanced the fifth part of the way, famine compelled them to retreat ; and the want of provisions became so great, that after slaughtering and eating all the beasts of burden, every tenth man was put to death, and devoured. Cambyzes chanced to return to Memphis at the period when it was full of rejoicings on account of the festival of Apis. Imagining that the people were exulting over the failure of his expedition, he gave way to the most ruthless indignation against the Egyptians, their priests and gods. But even towards his nearest relatives, and most confidential friends, he behaved in a manner no less outrageous. Upon the bare suspicion of rebellion, he caused his brother Smerdis to be murdered ; and when his wife and sister Meroe manifested symptoms of grief at the event, he treated her so barbarously as to occasion her miscarriage, which was soon after followed by her death. Almost every succeeding day witnessed the execution of one or other of his attendants and courtiers, several of whom he caused to be buried alive. The son of his chief favourite Prexaspes he shot through the heart with an arrow, merely that he might shew the father, who was present, that he was a good marksman, and that amid the excesses of debauchery, he retained entire self-command. Regarding his conduct towards the Jews the Scripture is silent. Only it is mentioned in Ezra iv. 6, that soon after he

had entered upon the government³⁷ the Samaritans addressed to him an accusation against the Jews, who would not allow them to take part in the building of the temple. Cambyses, however, seems to have taken no notice of a matter which he must have regarded with the utmost indifference; nothing at least is recorded of the effect which the remonstrance produced, and the Samaritans, under the successor of Cambyses, continued their attempts to hinder the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of the city walls.

Whilst Cambyses was thus involved in ambitious wars at a distance from his native country, the Magi, who were a Median race, had withdrawn from him the supreme authority, in order to found a new Median dynasty. Cambyses, in the eighth year of his reign, was on his way back from Egypt to Persia, and had already reached Syria, when a herald from Susa met him with the intelligence, that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and claimed the homage of the army. This Smerdis was brother of the Magian Patizeites, whom Cambyses had entrusted with the government during his absence. The assertion that he was Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, met a ready belief, from his resembling him so much in appearance, and from its being known only to a few that Cambyses had ordered his brother to be secretly put

to death. Though Cambyses immediately exposed the deception to his generals, they gave no credit to his representation, supposing it to be dictated by nothing but hatred to his brother. He died soon after of a wound accidentally inflicted by his sword falling out of the scabbard, and Smerdis was universally acknowledged as king.³⁸ He distinguished the commencement of his reign by a munificent act of favour, in causing it to be announced to his subjects, that they were exempt from all taxes and tributary services for the space of three years. During his reign, short as it was, he gained the esteem and affection of his people, so that all, with the exception of the Persians, fondly mourned his death. In the book of Ezra (ch. iv. 7,) he is mentioned under the name of Artaxerxes (*Artachshasta*³⁹) as having prohibited the Jews from the farther rebuilding of the walls and temple of Jerusalem, on account of the injurious accusations of the Samaritans,⁴⁰ who held up their designs as treasonable to the state, (v. 17—22). After Smerdis had reigned eleven months, Otanes, a Persian nobleman, discovered, by means of his daughter Phedyma, who was in the king's harem, that it was not the son of Cyrus, but a Magian of Media, that sat upon the Persian throne. He combined with six other Persian nobles; the seven conspirators rushed into the royal palace, slew the Pseudo-Smerdis and his

brother Patizeites, and on the same day effected likewise a great massacre among the Magi who were at Susa.⁴¹ In the consultations which ensued as to the form of government that should be adopted, Otanes declared for democracy, and Magabyzus for oligarchy, but Darius contended for the preservation of the monarchical constitution, and was supported in his views by the other four conspirators. When they proceeded to deliberate in what manner one of the seven should be elected king, Otanes said, that as he would not consent to be supreme ruler himself, so neither would he suffer himself to be governed by another; and he renounced his right to the throne, upon the express condition, that neither he nor any of his posterity should come under the king's dominion. This was acceded to by the rest, and we find that even in the days of Herodotus, the family of Otanes still enjoyed their immunities, being subject to the royal government only when they transgressed any of the fundamental laws of the kingdom. In addition to this, it was resolved that Otanes, as restorer of the Persian dynasty, and his descendants after him, should yearly receive a splendid Median garb of honour as a present from the king. It was stipulated that each of the six should enjoy unrestrained and immediate access to the monarch, unless when he was in his harem; and that he should not be

allowed to choose his wives out of any other families than theirs. It was finally determined, that the royal dignity should be conferred upon that individual of their number whose horse should neigh first after sunrise. This was done by the horse of Darius Hystaspes* (*i. e.* son of *Gustasp* or *Vyshtasp*), who was immediately declared king.⁴²

Darius Hystaspes, a son of the governor of Persis, of the family of the Achæmenides, is called, in the Hebrew records, *Daryavesh*,⁴³ (Ezra iv. 24; v. 5, 6; vi. 1—5.) His reign continued from the year B. C. 521, to B. C. 486; and he ruled, upon the whole, with wisdom and mildness. He greatly improved the internal organization of the empire (which, under him, reached the highest pitch of greatness) by dividing it into provinces, over which he placed governors called *Satraps*, and by properly regulating the tribute to be paid by each division.⁴⁴ It redounds less to his honour, that, not satisfied with ruling over the whole of Central and Western Asia, he thirsted after fresh conquests, which, while they drained his states of men and treasure, laid the foundation of the weakness and ultimate ruin of his colossal empire. After reducing the revolted

* It should have been added, that it happened through the well-known stratagem of his groom Oebares, to whom, and his horse, Darius erected an equestrian statue, with an inscription, in honour of both.—M.

Babylonians, he advanced with an army of 700,000^a men and a fleet of 600 ships to the Thracian Bosphorus, being the first Asiatic who had warred with Europeans. In memory of this, he caused two stone pillars to be erected at the Bosphorus, upon one of which were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the nations who had first invaded Europe from Asia. He overran and subdued Eastern Thrace as far as the Danube, and, crossing that river, advanced into the country of the Scythians, against whom the expedition was more immediately directed, but it proved very unsuccessful. Upon Darius returning to Sardis, he left a part of the army in Thrace under Magabyzus, who not only completed the subjection of that province, but made Macedonia also tributary. The governor appointed over Thrace was Otanes.⁴⁵ During these successes in Eastern Europe, Aryandes, the Persian governor of Egypt, sent out an army, supported by a fleet, towards the west of Africa, as far as the Greater Syrtis. Darius now began to meditate conquests in the East; but, before commencing the undertaking, he displayed greater caution and foresight than he had done in his Scythian expedition. He despatched a skilful navigator *Scylax*, a Greek of the

^a Some think this an exaggeration, or a mistake for 70,000.
—M.

Carian island of Caryanda, who went down the Indus with a fleet from the town of Caspatyrus (in the north-west of India), and explored the countries on its banks ; and, having reached the mouth of the river, sailed westward along the coast into the Arabian Gulf, and landed in Egypt after a fortunate and very remarkable voyage of thirty months. Scylax immediately repaired to Susa, and after he had made to the king a report of the countries he had visited, Darius moved towards India with a powerful army, and made a considerable portion of the western region tributary.⁴⁶ These Indian conquests were formed into the twentieth province of the Persian empire, and brought yearly into the royal treasury 360 talents of gold. The most important, but at the same time the most unsuccessful, undertaking of King Darius, was his expedition against Greece. The occasion arose upon the revolt of the Greeks of Asia Minor, excited by the two Milesians, Aristagoras and Histæus ; for, as the insurgents had been assisted by the Athenians with twenty, and the Eretrians with five ships, Darius sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, with a large army and fleet to invade Greece. Macedonia submitted at his approach ; but the fleet was dispersed in doubling the cape at Mount Athos, and a night attack on the army by the Thracians, rendered it unserviceable for his

farther progress. This double misfortune, however, did not drive the king from his purpose. A new fleet of 600 ships and 500,000 men sailed from Samos under the command of Datis, a Mede, and the Persian prince Artaphernes, and was for a time successful. They subdued all the islands of the Ægean Sea, landed in Eubæa, and took and destroyed the city of Eretria. Attica was invaded by 100,000 of their army, but Miltiades overthrew them at Marathon with a tenth part of the number, and afterwards, by a forced march, saved Athens, which was in imminent danger of being destroyed by their fleet. Yet notwithstanding these reverses, Darius did not renounce the idea of subjugating Greece; he devoted himself to a three years' preparation for a new expedition, which he was to command in person. But, in the midst of his warlike projects, death overtook him in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (B. C. 486), not long after he had had the mortification to learn that the Egyptians had shaken off the Persian yoke.⁴⁷

During the many wars of Darius, Judea seems to have enjoyed comparative repose. From the veneration in which he held the memory of his great predecessor, Cyrus,⁴⁸ the patriotic Jews were led to entertain the hope that he would authorize the completion of the temple, which had been begun by permission of Cyrus, but, since

the last years of his reign, had been stopped through the intrigues of the Samaritans. Encouraged by the prophecies and exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah, the governor Zerubbabel, the high priest Joshua, and the whole people, resumed the building, in the second year of the reign of Darius;⁴⁹ whereupon Tatnai, the Persian satrap of the countries on this side the Euphrates, called the Jews to account for their authority in so acting, and, upon their appealing to the decree of Cyrus, the matter was reported to the king. Search was made by his order in the royal archives at Ecbatana, and there was found the edict in question, commanding the re-erection of the temple on a larger scale than before, and the expense to be defrayed out of the royal treasury. Darius caused an extract of this to be sent to Tatnai, with instructions to afford to the Jews every facility for the prosecution of the work, and not only to furnish money for the cost of the erection, but to provide the necessary animals for sacrifice, and the wheat, salt, wine, and oil, as the priests should require from day to day—"that they may" (continues the rescript) *offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons,*" Ezra vi. 10. The building being resumed under these favourable auspices, was now carried on with vigour, and finally completed in the sixth year of Darius' reign. Ezra vi. 15.

But as Cyrus had in Cambyses, so had Darius in Xerxes,⁵⁰ a very unworthy successor, no less insensate, cruel, and debauched. When he assumed the reins of government, the Persian empire extended from the Indus to Ethiopia.⁵¹ After he had brought into subjection the revolted Egyptians, he spent three years in making immense preparations for renewing the war with Greece by sea and land. In order to deprive the Greeks of the expectation of aid from their own colonists in Sicily and Lower Italy, [Magna Græcia], Xerxes concluded an alliance with his African neighbours, the Carthaginians, who engaged to attack at the same time the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. This they accordingly did with an army of 300,000 men, under Hamilcar, but without success. In the fifth year of his reign, Xerxes led his immense host,⁵² (the infantry alone amounting to 1,700,000 men*), into Asia Minor, and took up his winter quarters at Sardis. Having thrown a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and cut through Mount Athos, he advanced into Europe in the spring of the following year. The first check which his army received was from Leonidas, with his devoted

* According to Herodotus (vii. 60,) the number of the army was ascertained by making a myriad (10,000) stand close together, and then building a wall round them; and, upon these retiring, the enclosure was filled with successive myriads till the computation was finished.—M.

band of patriots, at Thermopylæ. On the same day an indecisive engagement took place between the hostile fleets at Artemisium. Moving southward, the Persian army carried everywhere fire and sword, especially throughout Attica ; but their fleet sustained a total discomfiture at Salamis from the Greeks under Themistocles, and in the view of Xerxes himself, who was seated on his golden throne, erected on an eminence on the coast. This defeat, and the report spread by the Greeks that they intended to cut off the retreat of his army at the Hellespont, threw him into such terror, that, after a precipitate and cowardly flight through Thrace, he recrossed the Hellespont to Asia in a fishing-boat. About the same period his allies, the Carthaginians, were defeated at Himera, in Sicily, by Gelo King of Syracuse. Xerxes had still some expectations from the efforts of Mardonius, whom he had left in Greece with 300,000 men. But the next year he was defeated and slain by Pausanias at Platæa, while the Persian fleet was completely destroyed at Cape Mycælé, in Ionia, by the Spartan King Leotychides and the Athenian Xantippus. As a consequence of this victory, Cyprus and other islands, as well as all the Greek cities in Asia Minor, threw off the Persian yoke.⁵⁸ Xerxes retired from Sardis to Susa, and gave himself completely up to sensuality and voluptuousness, till, in the twenty-

first year of his reign (B. C. 464), he was murdered by Artabanus the captain of his body-guard.⁵⁴

It is to that period of Persian history which followed upon this king's return from Greece, that the events belong which were so important to the Jews, and are circumstantially related in the book of Esther.⁵⁵ Xerxes, who in that narrative bears the name Ahasuerus (Ahashverosh⁵⁶), as does Cambyses in the book of Ezra, had repudiated one of his wives called Vashti,⁵⁸ because she had refused to appear at a festival which the king (in the *third* year of his reign)⁵⁹ had given to his nobles. With the view of filling up her place, the most beautiful virgins throughout the empire were brought to Susa, and introduced into the royal harem, that the king might choose one of them as queen. [Being in the interval absent on his expedition to Greece,] it was not till the *seventh* year of his reign^a that he chose a young Jewess, Hadassah,⁶⁰ the foster daughter of a man living in Susa, of the tribe of Benjamin, called Mordecai. After she was raised to the rank of queen, she received the new name of Esther.⁶¹ Mordecai, who was also taken into the service of the court, had the good fortune to detect a conspiracy against the king's life, and gave information of it through Esther; yet, though his report was found correct, his

^a Comp. Esth. i. 3, with ch. ii. 16.—M.

fidelity passed unrewarded. His conscientious firmness, not long after, brought himself and all his countrymen throughout Persia into the greatest danger. The king had raised to the rank of grand vizier⁶² a certain man called Haman,⁶³ who demanded an obsequious homage to his person, not indeed altogether foreign to the manners of the East, but which had not been claimed by his predecessors in office ; he required that every one should bow to him with their faces to the earth. But Mordecai, who believed that such reverential prostration was due to God only, refused to perform it ; and when Haman learned that he was a Jew, who was actuated by religious scruples, he dreaded lest the example might be followed by the rest of that nation.^a The feeling of wounded pride, and a desire of revenge, induced him to propose to the king the entire extermination of the Jewish people, who, in their laws and habits, lived distinct from all other races in the empire. The king gave him the requisite authority,⁶⁴ and Haman immediately sent messengers to the governors of the pro-

^a *Milman*, who is disposed to take an unfavourable view of the character, both of Esther and Mordecai, representing the former as cruel and the latter as ambitious, accounts for Mordecai's refusal to pay Haman honour, on the supposition of his being a rival candidate for the viziership. *Hist. of the Jews*, II. p. 18. But that the real cause is here assigned by Rosenmüller, is evident from ch. iii. 3—6.—M.

vinces, with the command, that, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month,⁶⁵ all the Jews, of every age and of both sexes, should be put to death, and their property confiscated. Fortunately for the Jews, Haman, relying on the irrevocable word of a Persian king,⁶⁶ took no pains to conceal the intended massacre,⁶⁷ intelligence of which Mordecai found means to convey to Queen Esther. Though she had not been called to the royal presence for thirty days [and it was death to intrude unbidden], she was nevertheless prevailed on by Mordecai's urgent representations, to appear, though unsummoned, that she might intercede for her kindred and nation. The king held out the golden sceptre as a token of his favour, and accepted her invitation to a banquet which she had prepared, and to which Haman also was invited. The latter supposing, from this distinguished and exclusive honour, that he was secure against all risks, gave orders that a lofty gallows should forthwith be erected for Mordecai's execution. In the mean time, however, Ahasuerus, to banish the tedium of a sleepless night, caused to be read to him the recent annals of the kingdom as recorded by the royal historiographer,⁶⁸ and heard, among other things, the relation of the conspiracy which had been discovered by Mordecai, who he found had remained unrequited. The next morning, when Haman appeared before him to obtain an order for Mor-

decai's death, he received, to his astonishment, the command to array the hated Jew in robes of royal state and the other insignia of his new dignity of prince of the empire, to which the king had raised him, and to lead him through the city of Susa in triumphal procession, proclaiming him "as the man whom the king delighted to honour." At the second banquet of Esther which followed, she preferred her petition in behalf of her proscribed countrymen, and so far prevailed. Haman's guilt being detected, he was dragged from the royal presence, and hanged on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, while the latter was exalted as grand vizier in his room. Still the most imminent danger threatened the Jews throughout Persia, for the king's decree was irreversible. To counteract its effects therefore, expresses were sent in every direction, with full permission to the Jews to act on the defensive against all assailants; and it was the less likely they would suffer molestation, now that it was known that the prime minister of the king (the second man in the empire), and his favourite queen, were both of that nation. But, besides this, full scope was granted them for revenge upon their enemies; and, accordingly, on the very day designed for their own extirpation, they committed among them enormous slaughter, the number massacred in Susa alone being 800,

in addition to the ten sons of Haman, and throughout the entire empire no less than 75,000.⁶⁹ To preserve the memory of these signal events, Mordecai commanded that the Jews and their posterity should commemorate, in perpetuity the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar as a feast of joy, "as the days wherein they rested from their enemies." This injunction was confirmed by Queen Esther, and the feast was denominated, "*the days of Purim*,"⁷⁰ that is, "the days of the lot," (Esther ix. 26—32), which, it is well known, are to this day kept by the Jews of all countries with great rejoicings.^a

Xerxes was succeeded by his third son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, (i. e. Long-hand,^b) who was placed on the throne by Artabanus, the murderer of his father. This ambitious man persuading him that his eldest brother Darius had been the perpetrator of the crime, induced

^a It was called *Purim* (from *pur*, the lot), because Haman had cast the lot on these days to destroy the Jews. The month Adar corresponds to our February and March. At the festival, as now observed in the synagogues, the book of Esther is read; and at the name of Haman, all clap their hands, stamp with their feet, and cry, "Perish his memory!"—M.

^b In Gr. *Μακρόχυρ*. He was so designated, according to *Plutarch* (in *Vit.*), because his right hand was longer than his left; according to *Strabo*, (Lib. xv.), because both his hands were so long, that, standing upright, he could touch his knees with them.—M.

the king to kill him with his own hand ; but the treachery and seditious designs of Artabanus being discovered, he suffered the penalty due to his guilt. His seven sons rose in rebellion, supported by a numerous and powerful train of partisans ; nor was the revolt quelled till after a bloody battle. Artaxerxes then sent an army against his second brother Hystaspes, who was governor of Bactria, and had been proclaimed king of Persia in the eastern part of the empire ; and there also, after a severe struggle, his arms proved victorious. In the west, however, commotions occurred in various quarters for the space of seven years. In the third year of his reign the Egyptians declared their independence, elected for their king a Libyan, named Inarus, and, with the aid of the Athenians, for a time successfully maintained their freedom, but were at length again subdued. The Athenians were more fortunate. Under the conduct of Cymon, they defeated the Persians by sea and land ; and at last, in the fifty-first year of the war (B. c. 450,) they compelled Artaxerxes to conclude a treaty which was highly favourable to the liberties of all Greece. The last war in which the king engaged, was a contest with his brother-in-law Megabazus, which arose out of the subjection of the Egyptians under Inarus. The latter, with about fifty Athenians, had surrendered to Megabazus, under the express

stipulation that their lives would be spared ; but notwithstanding this sacred engagement, at the end of five years, the king, at the earnest and persevering entreaties of his mother Amestris,* (whose son Achæmenes had been killed in the battle,) caused Inarus to be crucified, and the Athenians to be beheaded. Megabazus, who was then governor of Syria, justly indignant at this breach of faith, rose in arms against Artaxerxes, and defeated the two armies which were successively sent against him. The king now felt that he had every thing to dread from such an enemy, (for Megabazus was the greatest general and statesman of the empire,) and deemed it best to seek an accommodation with him, which was mainly effected through the mediation of Amytis, the wife of Megabazus and sister of the king. After this, the Persian empire enjoyed for twenty years a season of uninterrupted repose, till the king's death, which happened in the forty-first year of his reign, B. c. 424.⁷¹

Artaxerxes (who is called in the Hebrew writings *Artachshasta*,⁷² Ezra vii. 1 ; Neh. ii. 1,) was as favourable to his Jewish subjects as had been his immediate predecessors Darius and Xerxes (Ahasuerus.) During the wars which the kings of Persia had carried on in Western Asia, Egypt,

* Rosenmüller has "*Amytis*," but that was the name of his sister, *Amestris* is by some supposed to be the *Esther* of scripture.—M.

and Greece, for the period of fifty years, Judea, which lay so near the theatre of the bloodiest battle fields, must have suffered much, merely from the burden imposed on the inhabitants of quartering and maintaining a portion of the Persian hosts. It needs therefore excite no surprise if, though the temple was rebuilt, and many privileges had been conferred by the Persian monarchs, the religious and civil constitution of the restored Jews had as yet received but little consolidation. It was doubtless with a view to further this important object, that, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, permission was given to the Jews in the other provinces of the empire to repair to Jerusalem, Ezra vii. 7. The conduct and superintendence of them was entrusted to Ezra, a man thoroughly conversant with the Mosaic code, and to whom authority was given to appoint judges, rectify abuses, watch over the observance of the laws, and punish the disobedient according to the extent of their delinquency, with imprisonment, confiscation of goods, banishment, or even death. He was, moreover, invested with powers to make a collection for the temple-service among the Jews who remained in Babylonia; and the king and his counsellors not only gave large contributions themselves, but instructed the treasurers on this side of the Euphrates to provide Ezra with whatever he should require, "unto a hundred

talents of silver, and to an hundred measures (*cors*) of wheat, and to an hundred *baths* of wine, and to an hundred *baths* of oil, and salt without prescribing how much," in order that the customary offerings might be punctually made. And besides this, with the view of inducing a greater number of priests and Levites to return to Jerusalem, the ministers of the temple, and even its slaves,⁷³ were declared to be exempt from the payment of tribute. (Ezra ch. vii. and viii.) Yet notwithstanding these privileges, it is mentioned that in the caravan of Hebrews who assembled at the river Ahava, none of the sons of Levi were to be found; and it was with difficulty that Ezra could at last prevail upon two families of Levites to accompany him. Indeed, after all Ezra's exertions in behalf of the settlers in Palestine, his labours do not appear to have been followed with the expected result. For, thirteen years after, Nehemiah, another Hebrew who filled at Susa the important post of cup-bearer to the king, learned that his compatriots in Judea were still in a low oppressed condition, and that Jerusalem was yet lying in ruins.⁷⁴ He resolved to employ his influence at court for his country's good, and accordingly received from the king a commission to repair thither with the rank of governor,⁷⁵ and act in concert with Ezra the scribe. Nehemiah became the ultimate restorer of the city, and his services in completing the re-organiza-

tion of the Jewish commonwealth were highly meritorious, and crowned with signal success.

After Artaxerxes Longimanus, the throne was ascended by his son Xerxes II., but, in the short space of two months, he was murdered by his half-brother Sogdian, as the latter was, in seven months after, by his brother Ochus, who had formerly been governor of Hyrcania.⁷⁶ After possessing himself of the supreme power, (B. C. 423,) he assumed the name of Darius, whence the Greeks called him *Darius Nothus*, i. e. Darius the Bastard. His reign proved very turbulent, one rebellion following another in rapid succession. Arsites, his brother, and after him Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, revolted soon after his accession. Scarcely were these troubles suppressed, and their authors put to death by being suffocated in ashes,⁷⁷ when Artoxares, the chief of the black eunuchs,^a to whom the king had given his entire confidence, grasped at the royal sceptre, but perished in the attempt. The Egyptians took advantage of these commotions to renounce the dominion of Persia, and made Amyrtæus of Sais king. They expelled the Persians from Egypt, pursued them, with the assistance of the Arabians, as far as Phœnicia, and maintained themselves independent for sixty-four years. Ochus was more successful against the Greeks of Asia Minor, where,

^a The officer of state who is still known in Eastern courts by the name of the *Kislar Aga*, q. d. "Dominus puellarum,"—M.

during the Peloponnesian war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, his governors Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes made it the rule of their policy to succour the weaker party. But as fortune appeared to remain with the Athenians, Ochus concluded a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, which afterwards proved a fertile source of troubles. He appointed his son Cyrus, when a youth of only sixteen, to be governor of the Persian provinces in Asia Minor, with almost unlimited powers. In the meantime, the Medes sought to throw off the yoke, but were unsuccessful, and only brought themselves under more galling servitude. About three years after Ochus died, without having seen the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.⁷⁸

This prince is not mentioned, either in the Bible or by Josephus, and thence we conclude that the amelioration of the condition of the Hebrews in Judea, did not particularly engage his attention.⁷⁹

After Ochus, the Persian sceptre was wielded by his eldest son, Arsaces, under the name of *Artaxerxes*, to which the Greeks added the surname of *Mnemon*, on account of his prodigious memory. His reign began in the year B. C. 404, not long before the war of the Peloponnesus ended in favour of the Lacedæmonians. He was scarcely seated on the throne, when his ambitious brother Cyrus attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. He generously for-

gave him, and even confirmed him in the government of Asia Minor. But there Cyrus raised a powerful army, and, marching towards Babylonia, encountered his brother on the plains of Cunaxa, where he was defeated and slain. After the battle, his Greek auxiliaries, under the conduct of Xenophon, made that memorable retreat known by the name of *the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, of which their accomplished leader has left so interesting a narrative.

After being engaged in long wars with the Lacedæmonians and other powers (which it does not fall within our present purpose to narrate,^a) and after having had his last days embittered by family dissensions, Artaxerxes died in the year B. C. 358, in the 46th year of his reign.⁸⁰

Judea appears to have enjoyed, in his time, comparative quiet; yet, between the years B. C. 377 and 374, it must have suffered much from the passage and repassage of the Persian troops, sent under Pharnabazus and Iphicrates on an unsuccessful expedition against Egypt. It was likewise under the reign of this monarch that the temple of Jerusalem was polluted by a most atrocious crime. Jesus, the brother of John, the high-priest, became so great a favourite

^a As it is the professed object of this work to embrace only so much of the Persian history as is *biblical*, or connected with the fate and fortunes of the Jews, I have somewhat abridged the latter portion of the narrative.—M.

with Bagoses, who commanded the Persian troops in Judea, that he was nominated by him to the high-priest's office. With the view of making good his claim to the dignity, he repaired to Jerusalem, entered the temple, and, after a violent altercation, was there murdered by his brother. On the report of this outrage, Bagoses hastened to the metropolis, and, when the Jews would have forbidden him entrance into the holy place, as being an unclean Gentile, he indignantly exclaimed, "What! am I not purer than that carcase which lies in your temple?"—and forthwith rushed in. As a punishment of the atrocity, he laid upon every animal offered in sacrifice an impost of fifty drachms, which were exacted during the seven years that he remained in Judea.⁸¹

In the succeeding reign of the barbarous *Ochus*, or *Artaxerxes Ochus*, the Phœnicians and Cypriots revolted and were supported by Nectanebus, king of Egypt; but Mentor, the Rhodian, whom he had sent with a body of Greeks to their assistance, basely delivered up to Ochus the city of Sidon, the inhabitants of which, in despair, set fire to their houses and perished in the flames. The earlier historians are silent respecting the part which the Jews took in these neighbouring commotions; but later writers⁸² (who drew their information from sources now lost) affirm, that after the destruction of Sidon, Ochus moved into Judea, besieged and took Jericho, and of the

Jews who were made prisoners, he carried a part with him into Egypt, but the greater number he expatriated to Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea. His Egyptian campaign proved no less successful; yet was it indirectly the cause of his ruin, for his chief minister, Bagoas, the eunuch, a native of Egypt, provoked at the cruelties which Ochus perpetrated upon his countrymen, and especially at the indignity with which he treated his god Apis, caused him to be poisoned in the year B. c. 338.⁸³

The Persian dynasty was now drawing to a close. *Arses*, the youngest brother of Ochus, after a short reign of not quite two years, was succeeded by *Darius Codomannus*, who was but distantly related to the royal family. He had acquired great fame as a warrior, and exhibited many of the qualities of a wise and upright ruler. But a new star had now the ascendant, before which the star of Cyrus must wane and be eclipsed. In the year B. c. 330, *Alexander of Macedon*, after a series of victories, ending in the death of Darius, came into possession of all the countries which formed the vast Medo-Persian monarchy, after it had existed for a period of 209 years.⁸⁴

The provinces of the Persian empire, according to the organization established by Darius

Hystaspes,⁸⁵ were governed by viceroys, who were called *Satraps*.⁸⁶ Herodotus says there were twenty of these satrapies, which he enumerates by name, stating at the same time the amount of tribute which each was expected to bring into the royal treasury.⁸⁷ But it is manifest, that, according to that classification, more than one nation must be included in the same satrapy. A far greater number of provinces is mentioned in the books of Daniel and Esther, as constituting the Persian monarchy. In the former, it is said (ch. vi. 1, 2) that Darius placed over the countries of his dominion, *a hundred and twenty* governors;⁸⁸ and the commencement of the book of Esther says, that Ahashverosh (Xerxes) ruled over *one hundred and twenty-seven* provinces.⁸⁹ Yet in this there is nothing contradictory to the statement of Herodotus; for his enumeration, as Heeren⁹⁰ has acutely remarked, is not so much a geographical division into provinces, as a classification of the different tribes of people who inhabited the conquered lands, according to the amount of tribute respectively exacted of them. Indeed the number of satrapies, given by Herodotus, would be by far too small, if we thereby understood *provinces*, since Asia Minor, or the peninsula of Western Asia, alone contained (at a later period) no less than *ten* satrapies.⁹¹ Over the hundred and twenty governors mentioned by Daniel, were placed three princes,⁹² or presidents,

who had the supreme control and administration of the finances. We also read in the book of Esther (ch. i. 14) of "*the seven princes of Persia and Media*, who saw the king's countenance, and sat first in the kingdom." These were doubtless the same persons who are described in Esth. vii. 14, as the *seven counsellors of the king*, and who formed the state-ministry.⁹³ The seven⁹⁴ eunuchs,⁹⁵ or chamberlains, mentioned in Esth. i. 10, 12; vi. 14, were different from these, having probably been entrusted with the care of the royal harem.

Upon the occurrence of affairs of great importance, which concerned the whole empire,—such as preparations for war,—all the satraps and princes, as well as the generals of the army, were summoned to the king's camp to be present at the deliberations. Thus Xerxes (whom we have supposed to be the Ahasuerus of Scripture,) called all the *grandees of Persia* to Susa in the third year of his reign, to give their counsels regarding the war which had been resolved on against Greece.⁹⁶ It was in all probability, upon that occasion, that the court festival was given, described at the beginning of the book of Esther, which lasted a hundred and eighty days, and at which "the king shewed the glorious riches of his kingdom, and the gorgeous magnificence of his greatness," Esth. i. 4. It ended with a special feast of seven days, given

within the gardens of the royal palace, "where were white, red, and yellow hangings, fastened with linen and purple cords by silver rings to pillars of marble. The couches were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of green, white, yellow, and black marble, and the drink was handed in golden vessels, which were always changed for others; and royal wine was there in abundance, as it became such a king to give," *Esth.* i. 5—7. This description strikingly corresponds with the accounts which European travellers have recorded of the public banquets given by the modern kings of Persia.⁹⁷

In the ruins of Persepolis, there are found various delineations of the Persian monarchs seated upon the throne in royal state; and as these were doubtless executed by cotemporary artists, their correctness cannot be questioned. One of them⁹⁸ answers very closely to the description in *Esther* v. 1, 2. The king appears in the full attire of royalty—under his feet is the golden footstool that was always carried after him⁹⁹—in his right hand he holds the golden sceptre; in his left, according to Heeren, the holy vessel, or cup *Havan*,¹⁰⁰ which was used in sacrifice. "Immediately behind," continues Heeren, "stands a eunuch (known by his almost female dress and figure) with a fly-fan in his hand, and his face muffled. The throne or royal chair is supported by three rows of male figures, which are

placed above one another, with their arms lifted up, like cariatides; as each has a different garb and head-dress, they are evidently intended to represent different nations; and thus the whole is a figurative representation of *the extent of the kingdom, and the greatness of the king*. The first figure has the complete Medo-Persian dress—an intimation that this was indeed the first nation in point of rank, yet were they servants of the king as well as the rest. In one of the lower figures, Niebuhr assures us, may be clearly discovered the Negro profile, and the woolly negro hair. And it would hence appear that the sculptor has selected, partly the most remote, partly the most distinguished nations, in order thereby to exhibit the power and majesty of their common ruler.”

1. فارسستان, *Fārs, Fārsistān*. Yet this orthography and pronunciation are rather Arabic. The original is properly پارس *Pārs, Pares*, a word which, in the Zend and old Persian, signifies *clear, bright, pure as ether*. This country probably received the name, like Khusistan, (See Chap. vi. note 3,) from the generally pure atmosphere, and clear serene sky. See *Wahl's Asia*, p. 225, where other less probable etymologies are mentioned and confuted. Comp. *Tychsen's Third Supplement to Heeren's Researches*, Part I. Div. 1. p. 627.

2. פרס, *Ezra iv. 5, et seqq. vi. 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 22. Dan. v. 28.*

3. "The people of the west, designated the entire empire by the name of *Persia*, this particular province by the name of *Persis*, (Πέρσις, ἰδος,) and the nation they called *Persæ*, (οἱ Πέρσαι.)" Mannert's Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans, Vol. V. Part 2, p. 497.

4. *Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 208.

5. *Chardin*, loc. cit. p. 243.

6. *Chardin*, loc. cit. p. 436. Comp. *Franklin's* Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia, (Lond. 1790,) p. 142. [Ker Porter says: (Vol. I. p. 709,)—"The present summer has been unusually hot, and the feverish state of my frame made me feel it more so; but the inhabitants of this beautiful vale, told me that Shiraz is generally esteemed the most moderate climate in the southern division of the empire; that its summer noons may be warmer than is pleasant, but the mornings and evenings are delightful: but when September commences, the weather becomes heavenly; and continues until the end of November with a perfectly serene atmosphere, of a most balmy and agreeable temperature, and a sky whose soft hues are reflected from every object. The earth is covered with the gathered harvest, flowers and fruits; melons, peaches, pears, nectarines, cherries, grapes, pomegranates; in short, all is a garden abundant in sweets and refreshment. The vales of Ouroomia, and of Salmos, which lie north-west of Tabriz are the only places in the empire that compare with Shiraz and its autumnal bounties."]

7. *Strabo*, XV. 3, p. 727. *Chardin*, Tom. III.

p. 289, [*Ker Porter*, says (I. p. 458 :) "Having completely cleared the valley of Division, we found ourselves in a wide plain, and entered into Pars. The general face of the country differed in no respect from the principal part of that we have been passing through for several days. The ground was barren of every kind of vegetation, excepting where the soap-wort grew in scanty patches, and that of a very meagre sort. An apt soil I thought to teach lessons of hardihood and privation !"]

8. That the *Kyros* or *Cyrus*, the *Araxes*, and the *Bend Emir*, are different names of one and the same river, flowing through the plain of Persepolis, is placed beyond a doubt by the remarks of *Hoeck* (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monumm. p. 58,) and *Ouseley* in his *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 326.

9. مرودشت, See *Ouseley*, *ibid.* p. 227, 334, 414.

Also called the plain of Istakhr, اصطخر, اسطخر.

استخر, a name which, according to the Persian Dictionary, *Burhan Kati*,* denotes a conflux of water, a reservoir. The word has been carefully investigated by *Ouseley*, *ibid.* p. 309, et seqq. *Strabo*, (XV. p. 729,) calls this plain κοίλη Πέρσης, Cœle Persis, that is *Hollow Persia*.

10. پارس کده, i. e. the place or camp of the Persians. See *Tychsen* in the work cited at note

* The Borhání Káti, i. e. *The Cutting Proof*. The best Edition is that of Calcutta, 1818.—M.

1, and *Ouseley* loc. cit. p. 317. Comp. *Reland* de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 111, p. 213 of the second Vol. of his Dissertt. [See the Appendix.]

11. See *Plutarch's* Life of Artaxerxes, cap. 10.

12. Exped. of Alexander, VI. 29. The accounts of the tomb of Cyrus given by ancient writers will be found collected by *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 69, et seqq. Comp. *Ouseley*, p. 320, 427.

13. See *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 65, et seqq.

14. The remains now form the celebrated ruins called *Tshihl Minār*, [*i. e.* "the Forty Pillars."]

15. XVII. 71. Tom. II. p. 215 of *Wesseling's* Edit.

16. *Persica*, cap. 15.

17. Tom. VIII. p. 305.

18. *Chardin*, *ibid.* p. 313.

19. See views of it in *Chardin*, Plate 68. *Le Bruyn*, Plate 158. [and *Ker Porter*, Vol. I. Plate 17.]

20. *Heeren's* *Ideen*, Part I., Div. 1, p. 250, et seqq.

21. See *Kleuker's* *Zend Avesta* abridged, p. 67, note, and *Rhode's* *Sacred Traditions of the Zend Tribes*, p. 194, et seqq.

22. *Herodot.* IX. 122. *Arrian*, V. 4. *Plato* de Legg. Book III. (Tom. II. p. 695 of the Edit. of *Seranus*.)

23. According to the not improbable conjecture of *Wahl*, (*Asia*, p. 210,) Achæmenes, one of the oldest Persian kings, is identical with him, who is called in the *Zend* books, *Djemshīd* جمشید, from whose

name came **آدم** *Adjem*, the appellation by which the Persians are commonly designated by the Arabs. The radical syllable is **جم** *Djem* or *Djam*; **شید** *Shīd*, means "splendid or brilliant, elevated or sublime." Comp. *Reland's* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 6, p. 108 of the second Vol. of his Dissertt.*

24. *Ἀγῆδάρης* in *Strabo* XV. 3, 6, p. 729. This name seems to have been abbreviated from the Persian words **اگاه دار داد** *Agāh-dār-dād*, i. e. "having knowledge of right, or "maintaining the right."

25. We here follow the accounts of *Herodotus* (I.

جم هو القمر وشید هو الشعاع اي شعاع القمر
وكذلك ايضا يسمون خورشید اي شعاع الشمس
لأن خور اسم الشمس

Djemschīdī nomen e *djem*, i. e. luna, et *shīd*, i. e. splendore compositum, splendorem lunæ significat. Eodem modo *Chūrshīdī* nomen fecerunt, quod splendorem solis valet; *chūr* enim solis nomen est. *Abulfedæ* Historia Anteislamica (Edit. Fleischer, p. 66.) For *Khūrshīd*, compare note 26 of this chapter.

The rule according to which the Arabians represent the Persian **د** sometimes by **د**, and sometimes by **ذ**, is given in the work quoted above, at p. 212. "If before **د** there be any quiescent letter except these three, **اوي**, it is expressed simply by *Dal*; otherwise by *Dhal*."—M.

123, et seqq.) which *Jahn*, (Bibl. Archæol. Part II. Book I. 221,) upon insufficient grounds, reckons fabulous. He prefers the narrative of Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*, where nothing is said of the rebellion of Cyrus against his grandfather. But the mention of such a revolt would have presented Cyrus under an unfavourable point of view, and was contrary to the design of Xenophon, which, according to Plato's assertion, (de Legibus, Book III.) was to exhibit Cyrus as the pattern of a virtuous and perfect ruler. *Cicero* also says, (ad Quintum Fratr. Epist. 1): *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.* Comp. *Gellii* Noct. Attic. Lib. XIV. cap. 3.^a The *Cyropædia* may nevertheless contain a true picture of the Persian manners and government. As to the credibility of the historical accounts which Herodotus and Ctesias give of Persia, and the sources whence they drew them, see Heeren's *Ideen*, Part I. Div. 1, p. 156, et seqq. The history of the Persian kings by the Greek writers mentioned can scarcely be recognised in the narratives of the Persian and Arabic poets and annalists of the tenth century; and the works of any earlier native historians are no longer extant. The

^a The title of that chapter of the curious work of Gellius is, "Whether Xenophon and Plato were rivals and enemies?" One proof given of the affirmative is, that Xenophon wrote his *Cyropædia* in order to oppose the views on government which had been advanced by Plato in his "*Republic*."—M.

poets drew their accounts chiefly from traditions, which, in the course of so many ages, had become greatly disfigured, and must be regarded as far inferior in authoritative value to the writings of the Greeks, who flourished while the ancient Persian monarchy still existed. The history of Persia, according to oriental authorities,* will be found in the *Ancient Universal History* (translated into German, with notes, by S. G. Baumgarten,) and in *Malcolm's History of Persia*, from the most Early Period to the Present Time, 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1815. Comp. *Richardson's Dissertt. on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations*. p. 80. [Oxford 1777-8. It is also prefixed to his *Persian Dictionary*.] *Wahl's Hist. of Eastern Languages and Literature*, (Leipzig, 1784, 8vo.) p. 143. *Volney, Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*. Paris, 3 Tom. 8vo. 1815,) Part II. p. 278, and *Langles' Notice Chronologique de la Perse*, in the Tenth Volume of his Edit. of Chardin's *Travels*, p. 160.

26. خورشید. The Etymolog. Magnum correctly says: Κόρος, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν, ὁ παλαιός. 'Ηλίου γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα. Κοῦρον γὰρ καλεῖται εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν 'Ηλίον. Comp. *Reland's Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers.* § 57, p. 166, et seqq. *Zend-Avesta* by Kleuker,

* Two of these have lately been made accessible to English readers, through the munificence of the Oriental Translation Fund, one of the most valuable institutions of our age and country. These are the *Sháh Námeḥ* of *Ferdousi*, by Mr. Atkinson, and *Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia*, by Professor Shea.—M.

Part III. p. 146, 159, 183, and the Appendix to it, B. II. part I. p. 85. According to *Strabo*, (XV. 3. 6.) Khor or Khorshid was the name of the river in the plain where Cyrus conquered the Medes, and from that river he received his new name.*

27. כורש Isa. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1. Ezra i. 1, 7, 8, &c.

28. The very different opinions held regarding the person called in Dan. vi. 1, "Darius the Mede," have been carefully examined by *Bertholdt* in the fourth Excursus to his Translation and Exposition of the book of Daniel, (Erlangen 1806). Following *Offenhaus* (Spicileg. Hist. Chronol. ii. 5. 43. p. 265,) he has made it highly probable, that Cyaxares II. is the monarch intended.

29. I. 177. Πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν παρῆς.

30. Cyropæd. VIII. 7, 10.

31. This was the end of Cyrus, as described by Herodotus, I. 214. But Xenophon, who did not find such a circumstance in accordance with the plan of his historico-political romance, makes him die a natural death, during a journey in Persia. Cyrop. VIII. 7, 1. The traditions of the East are silent respecting any Persian king of the name of Cyrus. *Richardson* (Diction. Pers. Arab. and Eng. article, كى) and *Volney* (Recherches, Part II. p. 293,) take Cyrus to be the same king who is called by Khondemir, *Kai-*

* According to others, both this and the Georgian Kur took their name from the king.—M.

Khosroo or *Khosrev*, *کي خسرو*, and who is said to have been the third king of the Kaianian dynasty. See *D'Herbelot's* *Bibl. Orient. Art. Caian*.

32. Hence, according to Herodotus (III. 89,) he received from his people the title of *Father*; and consequently Xenophon might with truth represent him as such in the *Cyropæd.* (ch. VIII.) where he introduces Cyrus himself as describing the maxims of his government.

33. *Woltmann* (*Elements of Ancient Hist.* p. 293,) and *Gesenius* (*Comment. on Isaiah, Part II.* p. 48,) are of opinion that Cyrus was chiefly induced to permit the return of the Jews to their own country, and the re-erection of their temple, because they abhorred polytheism as much as he did; and there was, in so far, a resemblance between the Jewish and Persian religion. But in the edict of the king in reference to this business, which is given with diplomatic precision, (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2;) Cyrus appears as a worshipper of Jehovah: "*Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: all kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah the God of heaven given me, and he hath commanded me to build to him a temple in Jerusalem.*" In Ezra vi. 1—4, it is mentioned, that fifteen years after, in the time of Darius, a decree was found in the royal archives at Ecbatana, which shewed not only that Cyrus had commanded the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, but had provided for the cost of the erection out of the royal treasury. According to the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiqq.* XI. 1,

2,) the resolution of Cyrus was prompted by his perusal of those prophecies of Isaiah which relate to himself in chap. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1.^a

34. *Lowth* remarks (in loc.) that Sardis and Babylon were, at the time of their capture by Cyrus, the richest cities in the world. Croesus, who was celebrated for his wealth above all the monarchs of his age, gave to Cyrus, along with his treasures, an exact written account of the contents of every waggon-load, as it was conveyed away. They were stored up by Cyrus in the palace at Babylon. *Xenophon* Cyrop. B. VII. *Pliny* gives us the following account of the riches which Cyrus amassed in Asia (Hist. Nat. LXXXIII. Cap. 15 :) Jam Cyrus devicta Asia pondo XXXIV. millia (auri) invenerat, praeter vasa aurea, aurumque factum, et in eo folia ac platanum vitemque. Qua victoria argenti quingenta millia talentorum reportavit, et craterem Semiramidis, cujus pondus quindecim talenta colligebat. Talentum autem Aegyptium pondo LXXX patere, Varro tradit. *Brerewood* (de Ponderib. Cap. 10,) reckons the value of this gold and silver to be equal to L.126,224,000 sterling.

35. אֲדִישׁוֹרִישׁ. It was very probably not a name imposed at birth, but a surname or title,—seeing that in Scripture it is used of three different individuals. The first half of the name is plainly the Persian word

آخش, worth, value. The second half is thought to be

^a Rosenmüller here impugns the genuineness of that part of Isaiah's prophecy. But see the Appendix.

most likely the syllable, *ور* *ver*, which marks *possession* of a thing, as *جانور jānver*, "having or possessing life;" *رهور rakver*, "having a road or journey" (before him,) *i. e.* a traveller. The final letter *ش* *sh* is found at the end of several Persian words in the Bible. (See *Gesenius'* Hebr. Lexicon, p. 31 of the second edit. Halle Encyclopæd. Vol. II. p. 238, note, and *Von Bohlen's* Symbolæ ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. ex Ling. Pers. p. 19.) The name *אדזשורוש* *adashvurush* would thus be equivalent to "possessing worth, worthy." *Simonis* (Onomastic V. T. p. 580,) takes the second half of the name for the abbreviated Persian word *بروشان berūshan*, *i. e.* nobleman, president, prince. *Jahn* again (Bibl. Archæol. Part II. Vol. 2, p. 244,) thinks of the Pehlevi word *Zvaresh*, *i. e.* a hero. As to the *Ahashverosh* mentioned in *Ezra* iv. 6, having been the same as *Cambyses*, see note 37 below.

36. *Heeren*, indeed, (*Ideen*, Part 1, p. 120) thinks, that in the picture which *Herodotus* (III. 2, et seqq.) has drawn of this king, much is to be laid to the account of the hatred of his informants, the Egyptian priests, who could never forgive *Cambyses* for having destroyed their influence. In *Ctesias* (cap. 9), he is presented in a less hateful light. But the facts, which there is no reason to suppose fabricated, do but too well justify the hatred, which not only the Egyptian priests, but the whole people must have borne towards a conqueror, who trampled under foot in the most reckless manner whatever they held most sacred.

37. In Ezra iv. 5, it is said, that the Samaritans had hindered the building of the temple, even under Cyrus, and till the time of Darius (Hystaspes); and between these two, the only kings mentioned are Ahashverosh and Artachshasta. Now, as from the time of Cyrus to Darius Hystaspes, only two kings actually reigned, viz. Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, it is evident that Ahashverosh and Cambyses are names of one and the same person. As to the error of Josephus, in reference to both these kings, see note 40 below.

38. Herodotus III. 61, et seqq.

39. ארתחששתא, doubtless from the ancient Persian ארתחשתר, *Artachshetr*, a name which appears in the Inscriptions at Nakshi-Rustam, and signifies *great* or *mighty king*. See *Silvestre de Sacy* *Memoires sur Diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 100.

40. Josephus (*Antiq.* XI. 2, § 1, 2,) gives both the accusation of the Samaritans contained in Ezra iv. 9—16, and the reply of the king of Persia, which follows in ver. 17—22. But he incorrectly styles the then king, Cambyses; for, as we shewed at note 37, the monarch of that name is mentioned at verse 6, under the name of Ahashverosh, and consequently, this Artachshasta must have been Pseudo-Smerdis. Indeed Josephus seems to have entirely overlooked the 6th verse of that chapter.

41. Herodotus III. 61—79.

42. Herodotus III. 80—84, 118.

43. דריוש. This does not materially differ from the real native name of this king. In the cuneiform inscriptions found in the ruins of Persepolis, and co-

pied by Niebuhr, (Travels, Plate xxiv.) he is called, according to the deciphering of Grotefend (Heeren's Ideen, Part I. Div. 1, p. 595, 603.) *Darheush* : or, according to *Saint-Martin's* more probable orthography, (Journal Asiatique for Feb. 1823, p. 83,) *Dareïoush Vyshtaspouëa*, i. e. Darius, son of Vyshtaspo. In modern Persian, Darius is called دارا *Dārā* ; and داراب *Dārāb*. *Anquetil du Perron*, in his Essay on the Ancient Languages of Persia (in the Zend-Avesta by Kleuker, Vol. II. p. 49) thinks the name Darius was corrupted from the two Zend words, *Eanter-afesh*, which signify *one who was in the water*, or *has been found on the water*. But this etymology only suits the history of Darius Codomanus, who, like Moses, had been exposed on the water by his mother ; it has no reference to the other kings who previously bore the name of Darius. *Herodotus* says, (VI. 98) that the Persian *Δαρείος* is synonymous with the Greek *ἐγκρατής*, i. e. a *coercer* or one who restrains. The word seems to denote a *ruler* generally. *D'Herbelot* remarks, under the article *Dara* : Nom Persien, qui est plutôt appellatif que propre ; car *Dara* en langue Persienne signifie un *Souverain*, d'où vient que Saadi dans son *Bostan* parlant de Dieu, dit qu'il est bien-faisant, liberal, et pourvoyant aux necessitez d'un chacun : qu'il est le *Dara*, ou le *Souverain* des hommes, et le *Dara*, c'est-à-dire, celui qui les gouverne avec une tres-profonde sagesse, par laquelle il penetre les secrets les plus cachez. Other less probable conjectures as to the meaning of the

name Darius will be found in *Reland's* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 61, p. 172 of Vol. II. of his Dissertt. Miscellan.

44. *Herodot.* III. 89—97. This division into provinces, and regulation of taxes, seems the same as is mentioned in Dan. vi. 1, 2, where, however, it is ascribed to Darius the Mede or Cyaxares II. See above, note 28.

45. *Herodot.* IV. 83, 85—143. V. 17—22.

46. *Herodot.* III. 93, 94, 102. IV. 44.

47. *Herodot.* V. 23—126. VI. 43—48. 94—119. VII. 1—4.

48. He married two of the daughters of Cyrus; and, previous to his last war with Greece, he named as his successor Xerxes, his son by one of them called Atossa, though he had at the time an older son by another wife. *Herodot.* III. 88. VII. 2.

49. Ezra iv. 28; v. 1, 2. Hagg. i. 2—15. Zech. ii. 5—17; iii. 1—10; iv. 1—14; viii. 1—17.

50. Xerxes is called in the cuneiform inscriptions on the ruins of Persepolis *Khshérshé*, according to Grotefend (in Heeren's *Ideen*, I. 1, p. 588, 602), or *Khshéarsha* according to Saint Martin, *Journal Asiat.* Feb. 1823, p. 83. *Herodotus* says (VI. 98), that *Ξέρξης* is equivalent to *ἀγῆτος* a warrior. *Reland* (Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 154, in his Dissertt. Miscell. Vol. II. p. 259) conjectures, that the name Xerxes is composed of the two Persian words شیر شاه Shîr-shah, i. e. *Lion-King*. For he remarks at 260: Amant enim Orientales populi reges bellicosos

Leones dicere — — Ita **ارسلان** *Arslân* id est, *Leo*, dictus fuit Imperator tertius decimus ex dynastia Seldschukidarum; et alii. Nuperus rex nobilissimae insulae Selan appellabatur **راج سينگ** *Radscha Singa*,^a id est, *Rex Leo*, Singalaeis et Malaeis, quod ipsum *Xerxes* exprimit. In the book of Esther he is mentioned under the honorary title of **אדזשוריש**. Comp. note 35 above, and note 56 below.

51. **מחזרו ועד-כוש**, as is said in Esth. i. 1. The Ethiopians are mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 69, 70) among the nations that were compelled to furnish a contingent of troops to the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

52. In its progress through Thrace and Macedonia, this host was joined by several other armies, so that *Herodotus* (VII. 185—187) computes the entire number of fighting men at 2,641,710, and the whole (including the baggage and suttlers) at 5,000,000. It is inconceivable how this immense horde was supplied with provisions. *Diodorus Siculus* (X. 5), *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. LXXXII. 10), and *Ælian* (Var. Hist. LXIII. 3), do, indeed, make the number less, but still it does not fall short of 2,000,000. Herodotus is defended against the charge of exaggeration by *Heeren*, in his *Researches*, Part I. Div. 2, p. 559 note.

53. All these facts are related at length by a co-

^a This will remind the reader of the name of *Runjeet Sing*, the Maharaja of the Punjab, one of the most remarkable characters of our day. See *Jacquemont*, *Burnes*, and other recent writers on India.—M.

temporary, Herodotus, in the last three books of his History, (VII. VIII. IX.)

54. *Ctesias* Pers. cap. 29. *Diod. Siculus* XI. 69. *Justin* III. 1.

55. *G. L. Oeder* in his Free Enquiry into certain Books of the Old Testament (edited by *Vogel*. Halle, 1771, 8vo.) has raised doubts as to the credibility of the book of Esther, and the probability of the events therein narrated. But his objections have been satisfactorily refuted by *Eichhorn*, in his *Introd. to the Old Test.* Part II. § 510, p. 641, by *E. A. Schulze* (*Dissert. de Fide Historica Libri Estheræ* in the *Biblioth. Hagan*, Class V. Fasc. 2), and by *J. A. Vos* in his *Oratio pro Libro Estheræ*. Utrecht, 1775, 4to. It is therefore the more surprising that *Corrodi* (*Elucidation of the Jewish and Christian Canon*, Vol. I. p. 67) and *De Wette* (*Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 221) have denied to the book any historical value. *Bertholdt* again (*Hist. and Critical Introd. to the Writings of the Old and New Test.*, Part V. 1st Div. p. 2413) ranks this among the *poetical books* of the Old Testament, inasmuch as according to him it is either a real poem, or a history drawn from popular traditions and poetically set forth. It is no less strange that *Heeren* (*Ideen*, Part I. Div. 1, p. 156) should regard this book as a fictitious narrative, containing, however, a true picture of Persian manners; for he himself has often recourse to it as an authority, and says (at p. 497), "that the interior of the harem of Persian kings is no where better described than in the history of Esther." But is it at all probable, that a later Jew of Palestine could have given in a fictitious

tale, a picture of the Persian court, which is acknowledged to be perfectly accurate? Is it likely that the feast of Purim, to which the events related in this book gave rise, and which we know to have been observed at a very remote period, (2 Macc. xv. 36), could have owed its origin to a mere fabrication? Many things in the book may have the air of improbability to modern Europeans, solely from their ignorance of the modes of thinking and acting peculiar to the kings and nobles of the East; for in the accounts brought us by travellers (especially those of the 17th century) who long frequented the Persian court, such as Della Valle, Chardin, Tavernier, &c. things are reported just as extraordinary, yea, in some respects, more so, than any to be found in the book of Esther. Of this there are some examples in the following notes; and indeed, who does not know that things the most true, are not always the most likely?^a

56. That the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther was Xerxes, has been shown on convincing evidence by *Justi* in a Dissert. which appeared in Part XV. of *Etchhorn's* Repertory for Bibl. and Orient. Liter., and has been reprinted, with additions, in *Justi's* Miscellaneous Dissertt. Samml. I. p. 38, et seqq. [See the Appendix.]

57. See note 37 above.

58. מְדִינַת אֶשְׁתֵּר Esth. i. 9, et seqq. The name is pre-

^a It is the idea expressed in a French proverb:

Le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable.—M.

cisely the Persian **وشتی** which signifies *beauty, goodness*.

59. Comp. *Justi* loc. cit. p. 75. Das Alte und Neue Morgenland [by Rosenmüller.] Part III. p. 295, and note 97 below.

60. **הדסה** Esth. ii. 7. The name properly signifies *a myrtle*, like the Arab. **هـدس**. Similar to this in sound is *Atossa*, the name of a daughter of Cyrus and the wife of Hystaspis. Herodot. III. 133, 134. But it will not thence follow, that she was the same person as Esther; for Hadassah or Atossa may have been a common name of females in Persia.

61. **מסתר** Esth. ii. 7, probably from the Persian, **ستاره** *Stāreh*, "a star." Comp. the "*sidere pulchrior*" of Horace, Book III. Ode 9. *Simonis* (Onomast. p. 581,) explains the name thus **آس تر** *As-ter*, Persian words which signify "a fresh or green myrtle," in which case the name would be nearly of similar import with **הדסה** Hadassah [See the last note.] Some suppose that Esther was the same as Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, mentioned by Herodotus, IX. 108, 111.

62. This is expressed in the following manner in Esth. iii. 1: "He (the king) exalted him and placed his seat above all the princes who were about him."

63. **דמן** Esth. iii. 1, i. e. the Persian **همان** *ham-mān* "singular, unique." From his being called

אגג the Rabbins make him out an Amalekite,^a Agag having been the name of a king of that tribe, 1 Sam. xv. 18, 20 ; Num. xxiv. 7. But Agag may likewise have been a Persian name. *Simonis* (Onomast. p. 105,) compares with it the Persian اوج *auj*, "high, exalted." A preferable etymology might be the Persian اقا *aka*, اک *ak*, آغا *aga*, "Lord."

64. Esth. iii. 6, 9, 13. It has been thought incredible, that any sovereign in his senses should have given his consent to the extirpation of a whole people residing in his dominions. And yet similar examples of frenzied barbarity are to be met with both in ancient and modern history. Thus Mithridates king of Pontus, gave to his satraps a secret order to massacre on a certain day all the Romans in his dominions without distinction of age or sex ; and this order was so punctually executed that upwards of 80,000^b persons perished. Cicero, a contemporary, mentions this as a well-known fact, in two of his Orations, viz. pro Lege Manil., Cap. 3, and pro Flacco, Cap. 25. See also *Valerius Maximus* IX. 2. *Plutarch* in Sylla, &c. A modern in-

^a " Perhaps the great destruction in the families of the Persian nobility, particularly of the seven great hereditary counsellors of the kingdom, during the Grecian war, may account, if any cause is wanting besides the caprice of a despot, for the elevation of a stranger to the rank of first vizier." *Milman's Hist. of the Jews*, Vol. II. p. 18.—M.

^b This is Appian's statement ; *Plutarch* raises the number to 159,000.—M.

stance, which occurred in the seventeenth century, is related by D'Arvieux, (*Voyages Part I.*) and also shews how far the revenge of an eastern despot may extend. Mehmed, Pacha of Zaid or Sidon, who had once received some affront from two brothers, Emirs of the Druses, not satisfied with procuring the assassination of the one, and attempting that of the other, entered the territory of the Druses with eight thousand men, for the avowed purpose of rooting out the entire tribe; he caused all whom he could seize to be put to death, and none escaped the sword but those who fled, or took refuge in inaccessible fastnesses. It is more incredible still, that a monarch should, out of blind zeal for religion, cause thousands of the most industrious and opulent of his subjects to be murdered or expatriated; and yet modern times offer examples of this in the conduct of Ferdinand the Catholic, who banished above 300,000 Jews from Spain, and of Louis XIV, who, after causing a great many Protestants to be butchered in cold blood, drove 200,000 of them out of his kingdom.*

* Some of the cases referred to by Rosenmüller are not exactly in point. The Roman citizens massacred by Mithridates were in a situation somewhat analogous to that of the English *detenus* in France on the rupture after the peace of Amiens; the law of nations was equally violated in both cases. Then as to the Druses, they were an independent people, to whom their vindictive aggressors would give no quarter. The instances adduced from the modern history of Europe are more applicable, and, unfortunately for the honour of human nature, they do not stand alone; the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of South America, and indeed of aborigines generally, (even after their

65. In fixing the day *according to the lot* (Esth. iii. 7), Haman acted in complete conformity to the modern practice of the Persian kings and nobles, who undertake nothing of importance till they have first consulted the astrologers, as to the day and hour indicated as fortunate by the planets. See Das Alte und Neue Morgenland, Part III. No. 709, p. 301, et seqq.

66. That capital sentences once pronounced by the king were irrevocable, also appears from Dan. vi. 15. Comp. *Brissonius* de Reg. Persar. Principatu, § 130, p. 185.

67. Esth. iii. 12—16. It has been thought unlikely, that if the design of a general massacre of the Jews had been made known so long before the period, they

subjection) by European colonists; the Parisian massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day; the persecution of the Jews over the whole world, will suggest themselves to every reader. An illustration from the conduct of the Turks to their Greek subjects has been furnished by De Peyssonnel in his remarks on Baron Du Tott's Memoirs. In describing the character of the celebrated Hassan Pacha, who, in the war of 1770 between Russia and Turkey, became eminent as a naval commander, he says of him "He preserved the Greeks *when it was deliberated in the council* [of the Grand Signior] *to exterminate them entirely* as a punishment for their defection, and to prevent their future rebellion—he obtained for them a *general amnesty*, which he took care should be carefully observed, and this brought back a number of emigrants, and prevented the total desertion of that numerous class of subjects which an unseasonable rigour would have occasioned, and which must have depopulated the provinces, rendered a great part of the country uncultivated, and deprived the fleet of a nursery of sailors."—M.

should have taken no measures towards their own safety. But it is quite possible that they may have done so, without the historian deeming it necessary to mention it; and one object which Haman may have had in view in publishing the decree so long before, was probably the expectation that the property of those who sought safety in flight, would thereby the sooner, and more easily come into possession of the crown.

68. *Esth.* vi. 1. Of the custom which still obtains in modern times, for Eastern kings to cause the annals of the kingdom to be read to them, the reader will find illustrations in the *Alte und Neue Morgenland*, Part III. p. 308, et seqq.

69. *Esth.* ix. 5—16. That the Jews had it in their power to put to death so large a number of their enemies as 75,000, is the more credible from the circumstance, that after Mordecai became grand vizier, his countrymen became the objects of universal dread throughout the empire. *Esth.* viii. 17; ix. 2, 3, 4.

70. The word פֹּר is in the book itself (ch. iii. 7), explained by the Hebrew גֹּרֶל, the lot. The modern Persian has the similar words پاره and بهر part, portion, share,—sors.

71. *Diodor. Siculus*, XI. 71—77; XII. 34—64. *Ctesias Pers.* 30—43. *Plutarch* in Artaxerxes.

72. *Bertholdt* has shewn by cogent arguments, that the Artachshasta of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, could be no other Persian king than Artaxerxes Longimanus. *Introd. to the Old and New Test.* Tom. III. p. 1014, et seqq. Josephus commits

the strange blunder of making him to be Xerxes (Ant. XI. 5, 6), in which it is surprising to see him followed by Jahn in his *Bibl. Archæol.* Part II. Vol. I., p. 259. In that case Xerxes would be mentioned in the Hebrew books under the two-fold name of Abashverosh and Artachshasta, a circumstance not very probable.

73. נתינים, Esth. vii. 24, literally *given up, consecrated*.

74. Neh. i. 3.

75. תרשומא. Castellus in his *Lex. Heptaglott.* derives this title from the Persian ترشي ترش *tursh, turshi*, which properly denotes "sour," then "dark, harsh."

76. See Ctesias, Pers. 44—48. Diod. Sicul. XII. 71.

77. The nature of this punishment is described in 2 Macc. xiii. 56.

78. See Ctesias Pers. 48—61. Diodor. Sic. XIII. 37, 38, 45, 46, 51, 108. Xenophon in *Hellenic.* I, I. § 4, 6, 9, 15—18. II. § 3, 4. III. § 4, 6—9. IV. § 1—3.

79. It was probably under the reign of Ochus, or Darius Nothus, that occurred the marriage of the Jewish priest Manasseh with a daughter of Sanballat, the Persian commander, who favoured the Samaritans to the prejudice of the Jews, whence occasion was given to the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. *Josephus* indeed says, (Ant. XI. 7, 8), that this happened much later, namely, in the reign of Darius Codomannus, the co-temporary of

Alexander the Great. But Prideaux has made it very apparent (Connexion between the Old and New Testament, Part I.) that the marriage in question took place under the second governorship of Nehemiah, who seems to allude to it in ch. xiii. 28. Josephus places the date of this marriage, and the erection of the Samaritan temple, too near each other. Comp. *Jahn's Archæol.* Part II. Vol. I. p. 272.

80. The authorities for this period are *Ctesias Persica*, cap. 57 et seqq. *Plutarch's* Lives of Artaxerxes, Pelopidas and Agesilaus. *Xenophon's* Hellenica, III. IV. V., with his seven books on the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus (Ἀνάβασις Κύρου) and *Diod. Sicul.* XIV. XV.

81. *Joseph.* Antiq. XI. 7.

82. *Josephus* and *Hecataeus* in the first of the books against Apion, § 22. *Eusebius* in his Chronic. at the 105th Olympiad. *Solinus* Polyhist. cap. 48. *Syncellus* Chron. p. 256.

83. *Diodor. Sicul.* XVI. 22, et seqq. XVII. 5. *Ælian*, Var. Hist. VI. 8. IV. 8.

84. On the History of the Reign of Darius Codomannus, see *Diod. Sicul.* XVI. 89, et seqq. XVII. 1—4, 8—16; 39, 53—64. *Arrian's* Hist. of Alexander I.—III. *Plutarch's* Alexander. *Justin*, XI. XII.

85. See above, at note 44.

86. سترپ *Sitrap*, is marked in the Persian Dictionaries as obsolete. Comp. *Brissonius* de Reg. Persar. Principatu. Lib. I. § 168, p. 234. Edit. of Lederlin. [See the Appendix.]

87. III. 89—97.

88. אחשדרפניא, Dan. vi. 1. The word is composed of ^آآخش *ākhash*, *worth, dignity*, (see note 35 above,) and دربان *derbān*, i. e. properly a door-keeper, or (in reference to the attendance at court) a chamberlain. Perhaps the second half of the word is the Persian سترب *satrap*, (see note 86 above) with the termination ַ.

89. With this agrees *Josephus*, Antiq. XI. 6, 1.

90. Ideen, Part I. Div. 1, p. 175.

91. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 181.

92. סרבין. Dan. vi. 3. סרץ seems abbreviated from the Persian سرکار *sarcār*, “an overseer.”

93. Comp. what is said in the text (p. 220,) of the seven Persian nobles, who murdered the Pseudo-Smerdis, and reserved to themselves the right of approaching the king at all times, without being announced. These seven counsellors we likewise find mentioned under the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the grandson of Darius Hystaspes, (Ezra vii. 12—14) where it is said, that Ezra received from Artaxerxes and the seven counsellors permission to return to Jerusalem with as many of his countrymen as were disposed to accompany him.

94. “The number *seven*,” says *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 490, note, “is of such frequent occurrence in the Institutes of ancient Persia, that it was not improbably a sacred number. Something similar is found among other Asiatic nations; as for example the Mongols,

with whom the number *nine* is sacred. *Pallas* on the Mongols, p. 198."

95. סריסים.

96. *Herodotus* VII. 7, 8.

97. So says *Chardin*, in the description of the nuptial feast of a Persian prince, at which he was present when at Tiflis. Travels, Vol. II. p. 116, Edit. of Langlès. "The feast took place on a terrace of the palace, which was inclosed with fine carved lattice-work. It was covered with a pavilion, which rested upon five pillars. This tent-palace was lined with gold and silver brocade, velvet, and fine painted linen, and, when lighted up with a great many torches, presented a very beautiful appearance, shewing like figured wainscot." See Plate XXXIX. of his Travels. *Della Valle's* Description of a banquet, which Shah Abbas I. gave to the grandees of his kingdom, on the news of a victory over the Turks, affords a lively resemblance to the festival of Ahasuerus. Travels, Part II. The circumstance mentioned in Esth. i. 3, finds an exact parallel in his account of another banquet, "where," says he, "though the drinking cup was always going round, no one was compelled to drink more than he pleased."

98. See *Chardin's* Plates, No. LXIII., and *Ker Porter's*, No. L.

99. "The seat of the Persian king was not a *throne*, according to our ideas of one, but simply a chair, (called by the Greeks *δίφρος*,) yet so high that it required a foot-stool (*ὑποπόδιον*.) It was made of gold, or at least inlaid with that metal, and covered

with splendid tapestry ; and no one save the king might sit down on it under pain of death. See *Brisson*, § 75, 76, p. 102. It is often found pictured on the Persepolitan monuments, and always of the same fashion. Comp. Esth. v. 1, 2." *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 296, note.

100. Zend. Avesta, by Kleuker, Part III. p. 204. Xerxes used it in offering to the sun, and threw it as a sin-offering into the sea. Herodot. VII. 54.

END OF CHAP. VII.



APPENDIX.

ADDENDA TO CHAP. I.—III.^a

The Mount of the Gods, (p. 19, 42.)—Another illustration of this topic may be drawn from the *Kuen-lun* of the Chinese, in Eastern Thibet, a mountain-chain of immense height, which, in their mythological geography, is designated “the king of mountains, the highest point of all the earth, the mountain which touches the pole, and supports the heavens;” and, according to the expression of Abel Remusat, is the Olympus of the Buddhist Divinities. The classical reader will be reminded of the

“Cœlifer Atlas

Axem humero portans stellis ardentibus aptum.”

The Caucasian mountain Al-bordsh, so often mentioned in the text, is commonly written by English travellers *Elburs* or *Elborus*, in French *Elbrouz*. There is another of the same name in Persia.

Itinerary Measures.—To the works referred to in p. 45, add *Chelius’* Mass-und-Gewichtsbuch, (Frankfort 1830,)—a work of authority among the Germans. Also, the Tables of Löhmann, which are in course of publication at Leipzick.

The more specific reference to Sir R. K. Porter’s Travels in the foot-note at p. 31, is to Vol. I. p. 511. His words are

^a Each of these Chapters is followed by its own Appendix: viz. Chap. I. at p. 35: Chap. II. at p. 91: Chap. III. at p. 109.

(in describing the Cave of the Forty Daughters :) "The term *forty*, when attributed to any collection of objects, is not always by these Eastern people intended to declare that precise number, but rather to express any indefinite calculation, whether of persons or things; and generally with the hyperbolical view of insinuating that the number is beyond calculation. Hence, both at Ispahan and Persepolis, we hear of a palace of *Forty Pillars*; here we have the Cave of *Forty Daughters*; and in the Arabian Nights Tales we are told a story of *Forty Thieves*."

Eden and Paradise, (p. 46, 98.)---Other recent German works on this head are: *Kaiser* (of Erlangen,) Comment. in priora Geneseos Capp. Noremb. 1829. *Werner* (C. G.) on the three first chapters of Genesis. Tübingen 1829. *Pastkuchen* Urgeschichte der Menschheit, 1821; and *Bibl. Urgeschichte*, 1823.

While the foregoing sheets were passing through the press, I received the work of a Königsberg Professor, *Bohlen*, entitled "Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert." Königsberg, 1835. He has acquired some distinction as a Persian and Sanscrit scholar, and has written a book on Ancient India, in its relations with Egypt. His hypothesis as to the site of Paradise differs somewhat from all those we have enumerated in the Synoptical Table at p. 91. He identifies Eden with the country of the same name sometimes described as in the Assyrian, sometimes as in the Chaldean empire (according to the particular period of history) but really situated in Northern Media, and mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 23, as trading with Tyre, and in 2 Kings xix. 12, Isa. xxxvii. 12, as "Eden in Thelassar," (Elassar, Gen. xiv. 1.) He even pretends to fix the precise locality of Paradise at Rhages (the city of Media described in the present work of Rosenmüller, p. 170,) whose name he says denotes in Sanscrit, *royal* (râjavân) It is now called راي, *Rai*, which is said to be the word used in Russian and other languages for *Paradise*. Rhages is more-

over mentioned under the name of *Ragham*, in the descriptions of Paradise found in the Zend-Avesta. Finally, the country of Northern Media and Western Bactriana formed the ancient *Aria* (*Airyo*) or *Ariana* (*Airyana*,^a) i. e. *Iran*, a name which Bohlen conjectures may have been the original designation of the region of Paradise, q. d. עֶרֶן *Eren*, and he thinks the *resh* has been changed into *daleth* so as to form עֵדֶן *Eden*! He in fact denies the Shemitic origin of the word *Eden* altogether. But all this is very far-fetched and unsatisfactory; and when he proceeds to connect with the locality presupposed, the courses of the four rivers, he is compelled to have recourse to the idea of the whole being a *poetical mythos*,—the ready refuge of neological expositors on the occurrence of any difficulty.

The Name of Paradise, (p. 46, note 1.)—The following are the only passages in the Old Testament where the word פֶּרֶדֶס *Pardes* occurs, from which the Seventy formed the Greek Παράδεισος, and the Vulg. the Latin *Paradisus*.

SONG OF SOLOMON, iv. 13.

שְׁלַחֲךָ פֶּרֶדֶס רְמוֹנִים עִם פְּרֵי מִגְדִּים
כַּפְרִים עִם-נִרְדִּים :

Thy plants *are* an orchard (*pardes*) of pomegranate-trees,
with delicious fruits.

Al-henna with spikenard.

ECCLES. ii. 5.

עָשִׂיתִי לִי גִנּוֹת וּפְרָדִים
וְנִטְעֵתִי בָהֶם עֵץ כָּל-פְּרִי :

I made me gardens and orchards (*pardesim*,)
And I planted in them trees of all kinds of fruit.

^a By others written *Eeriend*. See the present volume, pp. 51, 52. *Iran* is the favourite name given by modern Persians to their native country.

NEH. ii. 8.

ואגרת אל-אסף שמר הפרדס אשר למלך—:

And a letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the forest (*pardes*) which is the king's.

The eminent Hebrew scholar *Ewald* in the Prolegg. to his Comment. on Canticles, (Gotting. 1826, p. 21,) derives פרדס from the Sanscrit *Paradesa*, which, says he, signifies a *pleasant country*, (see our foot-note *b* at p. 49.) But *Rosenmüller*, in his Scholia on Canticles (Leipzig 1830, p. 368,) thinks that word has rather the signification of *another*, i. e. a *foreign country*, and he refers, in proof of this, to the Sanskrit poem Ghata-Karpara, verse 7. Yet the two ideas are not incompatible; for "the land of the blessed" was thought to be distant, as well as fair.

The Phasis and Colchis, (p. 54, 75.)—In the account of the Phasis in p. 54, I inadvertently put in a parenthesis after "Iberia," the words "the ancient Colchis." But, strictly speaking, the ancient Iberia lay between Colchis on the west and Albania on the east; while the native writers comprehend under the modern name Iberia, the four kingdoms of Kartueli, Imeritia,^a Mingrelia and Gurriel,^b of which the two last are understood to correspond to the Colchis of antiquity. See Eugene the Archimandrite's Description of Georgia, in the Annales des Voyages, Vol. XII. p. 74. *Balbi's* account of the course of the Phasis is as follows: (Geographie, Paris 1834, p. 784,) "The Rion, so famous under the name of the Phasis, in Greek mythology, on account of the Argonautic expedition, and which the ancients by mistake reckoned one of the largest rivers of Asia, has its source to the east of Mount Elboorz, traverses Imerethi, separates Mingrelia from Gouriel, and enters the Black Sea not far from Poti." The

^a Otherwise written Imerethi—supposed to be a corruption of "Iberia."

^b In doubting the correctness of the orthography "Gurriel" (p. 75,) I was misled by Malte-Brun.

description of this river given by Gibbon in his account of the Colchian war, (History ch. XLII.) is only applicable to its ancient condition, when it was navigable much higher up than it is now. See Strabo, Lib. XI., and Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6, 4. His delineation of the Colchians, however, will be found interesting, and in the main correct. Previous to their conquest by Russia, we are assured by Klaproth that the *dadian* or prince of Mingrelia often went from one village to another, accompanied by his court, and remained there as long as he could find poultry and wine; when all was consumed, he decamped for another place. The poverty of the court was so great that no one had money enough to change a Turkish ducat of the value of a few shillings. Poti, a maritime fortress situated at the mouth of the Phasis, and commanding the navigation of the river, was one of the principal causes of the last war between Russia and Turkey. By the treaty of Adrianople, (dated 14th September 1829,) the Russians are put in possession of the coast of the Black Sea from the Danube to beyond Poti, and as far as Batoumi, so that Imeritia, Mingrelia, and the greater part of Gurriel, are now under their sovereignty. The Russian governor resides at Kutais, (K'houthaïssi.) In most of the districts of the Caucasus the tenure of obedience is very insecure; and so confident are the mountaineers of the strength of their fastnesses, that they often declare the Russians can reach them only "as the rain does," namely, by coming from the clouds.^a But in the valley of the Phasis the Russians make their mastery to be felt. "The king of Imirethi," we are informed by recent travellers,^b "rebelled against his new sovereign, was expelled, and his territories were united to the crown. The

^a A document lately appeared, which has excited no small interest in the political world. It is an appeal addressed to Britain and France from the Circassians, and other tribes of the Caucasus, against the domination of Russia. The struggles of the mountaineers of Daghistan and other eastern districts, will be found described in an official report of the war made to the Russian government, of which there is a notice in the Journal Asiatique, for 1832, and the Athenæum for 1833, p. 131.

^b *Smith and Dwight's* (American Missionaries) *Researches in Armenia*, &c. London 1834. p. 154-6.

princes of Mingrelia and Gooriel still hold their places, acknowledging allegiance to Russia; but their countries are filled with Cossack police-stations." * * * * * Gouriel contains about 30,000 inhabitants, Mingrelia 40,000, and Imirethi 81,000. The former insecurity to person and property has given place to perfect quiet. Measures are taken to put an end to the slave-trade. The condition of the peasantry has been improved. The scenes above described by Klaproth are no longer permitted. Still there is no education; drunkenness and unchastity prevail to an incredible extent, and the sacredness of an oath is unknown.

The Oxus or Jihoon, (p. 55.)—The following is Burnes' description, (*Travels into Bokhara*. London, 1834. Vol. II. p. 186.)

"The Oxus or Amoo is a river of considerable magnitude and classical celebrity. It was known to the Greeks under the designation of Oxus; the Asiatics call it Jihoon and Amoo. Jihoon means *a flood*, and is used in all the Turkish and Persian works that treat upon these countries^a: but the inhabitants on its banks now speak of the river under the name of Amoo, calling it *Duryā-i-Amoo*, the River, or literally the Sea of Amoo. I am not aware of any meaning that attaches to this title. The Oxus rises in the tablelands of Pamere, and is formed by a variety of rivulets which collect in that elevated region of Asia. It is stated that four rivers, which flow in opposite directions, issue from the vicinity of the lake Surikol; these are the Oxus, Sir or Jaxartes, one of the heads of the Indus, and a portion of the waters of Thibet. The Oxus waters the rich valley of Budukhshan, where it receives the river of that name, the greatest of its tributaries, and is afterwards joined by a variety of smaller streams from Koondooz and Hissar, which have been describ-

^a The late king of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, spoke of it to Burnes under this name, "and seemed to consider it the greatest river in the world." Vol. II. p. 135. This traveller crossed it on his way from Balkh to Bokhara, Vol. I. p. 249, and re-crossed it on his return, lower down, before entering the Desert of the Toorkmuns, Vol. II. p. 1—3.

ed by Mr. Macartney. It winds among mountains, and, approaching within twenty miles of the town of Khoolloom, and much nearer than appears in our maps, passes about half a degree to the north of Balkh. There are no hills between it and that city, as have been represented. It here enters upon the desert by a course nearly north-west, fertilizes a limited tract of about a mile on either side, till it reaches the territories of Orgunje or Khiva, the ancient Kharasm, where it is more widely spread by art, and is then lost in the Sea of Aral. I will not permit the much disputed subject of the Oxus having terminated at a former period in the Caspian instead of the Aral, to lead me into a digression on that curious point. I have only to state, after an investigation of the subject, and the traditions related to me, as well as much inquiry among the people themselves, that I doubt the Oxus having ever had any other than its present course." This opinion differs from the account of Rosenmüller (p. 57) who seems to have adopted the conclusions of *Ritter* and *Wahl*. *Burnes* thinks the dry river beds between Astrabad and Khiva are the remains of canals. Had he been enabled to extend his journey as far as Khiva, his judgment respecting the mouth of the Oxus might have been entitled to some weight; as it stands, it is mere conjecture.

The Tigris and Euphrates, (p. 57, et seqq.)—The accounts of travellers vary exceedingly as to the comparative length, width, depth, &c. of these twin rivers. A late writer, Mr. James Bell, has a long rambling note on the subject in his edition of *Rollin's Ancient Hist.* Vol. I. p. 458, et seqq.

The Euphrates, (p. 59, et seqq.)—Ewald, in his *Crit. Gramm.* p. 569, denies that פֶּרַח is a word of Hebrew origin; but even if we reject the etymology, which derives it from פֶּרַח to be fruitful, we have the Arabic قُرَاتٌ ^{قُرَاتٌ} very sweet water; hence it is also called in Turkish مراد صوي *Morād Sūi*, "the

water of desire." *Simonis*, in his *Onomasticon*, thinks the prefix, in the Greek form *Εὐφράτης* is the Persian  water, but it is simply the Aleph Prosthetic. The ideas of the ancients, as to the sources of the river, will be found in *Herodot.* I. 180. *Strabo*, XI. 521. *Ptolem.* V. 13. *Plin.* V. 20. *Quint. Curt.* V. 1, 13. Comp. *Salmasius* on *Solinus*, cap. 37. *Celarii* Not. Orb. Ant. II. p. 318.

Captain Chesney's Expedition.—Public attention is at present directed towards this celebrated river, on account of the attempt which is in progress to establish, by means of it, a speedier communication with our possessions in India. That such an attempt can be attended with *permanent* success, must be beyond the expectation of all but the most sanguine. The originator of the scheme is *Captain Chesney*, from whose Report on the capabilities of the river we give the following extract:—"The scenery above Hit (in itself very picturesque) is greatly heightened, as one is carried along the current, by the frequent recurrence, at very short intervals, of ancient irrigating aqueducts, which, owing to the windings, appear in every variety of position, from the foreground of the picture to the distant part of the landscape; these beautiful specimens of art and durability, are attributed by the Arabs to the times of the ignorant, meaning (as is expressly understood) the Persians, when fire-worshippers, and in possession of this part of the world; they literally cover both banks, and prove that the borders of the Euphrates were once thickly inhabited by a people far advanced, indeed, in the application of hydraulics to domestic purposes of the first and greatest utility, the transport of water. These speaking monuments of other times, have, as may be supposed, suffered in various degrees during the lapse of so many ages of partial or entire neglect, and the greater portion is now, less or more, in ruins; but some have been repaired and kept up for use, either to grind corn or to irrigate, having a modern wheel at-

tached, on the ancient, simple, and most efficient model; the whole being, in some instances, sufficiently well preserved to show clearly the original application of the machinery.

“ But what most concerns the subject of this Memoir is the existence of a parapet wall or stone rampart in the river just above the several aqueducts; in general there is one of the former attached to each of the latter; and almost invariably between two mills on the opposite banks, one of them crosses the stream from side to side, with the exception of a passage left in the centre for boats to pass up and down. The object of these subaqueous works (mistaken by Alexander the Great for means of defence against his irresistible legions) would appear to be exclusively to raise the water sufficiently at low seasons to give it an impetus, as well as a more abundant supply to the wheels; and their effect at those times is to create a fall in every part of the width, save the opening left for commerce, through which the water rushes with a moderately irregular surface. These dams were probably from four to eight feet high originally, but they are now frequently a bank of stones disturbing the evenness of the current.

“ Ten miles below the town of Hit, the last of these irrigating mills and artificial barriers is passed, and a few miles lower the double range of hills is nearly lost; the country becomes comparatively flat, having fewer hills, with some scattered trees along the river, and but little brushwood; the river winds less, and instead of rocks and pebbles, the bed is of sand or mud, the current *duller* and *deeper*, with an appearance altogether approaching that of the Danube as it passes between Widdin and Silestra, but much more animated; the banks (which are either perpendicular or in steps) being covered with Arab villages of mats, or tents, almost touching each other, with numerous flocks of goats, sheep, and some cattle feeding near them; also beautiful mares clothed and piqueted close to the tents, their masters strolling about armed, and the poorer males or slaves busily employed raising water by means of numerous water-pullies, all in ope-

ration, and worked on this part of the Euphrates by horses or bullocks going down an inclined plane, pulling a rope over a roller so as to elevate a large leather vessel, to the bottom of which, at one corner, is attached a long leathern spout, which is curved upwards as the vessel ascends, but being drawn out by the tightening of a cord (which works of itself) as the machine reaches the level, the contents are thus discharged into a trough coated with bitumen, and the vessel then descends to fill once more, which is accomplished by the time the animal has ascended to the top of the inclined plane, and has turned round to go down it again. These bullock-rollers have either a brick or earthen shaft descending to the river's edge, and large enough to contain two, three, or four vessels all at work at the same time, with as many animals, and a man to each; they appear to have been known and used in Mesopotamia from the earliest times, and the river's bank is quite covered with them all at work, and producing all the fertility of Egypt, as far inwards as irrigation is extended, beyond which the country is, generally speaking, a desert."

The City of Enoch, (p. 86).—In confirmation of the views advanced in the foot-note at p. 87, we notice, shortly, the objections of Rosenmüller. *First*, "In all other places of the Old Testament עִיר signifies a city." But, not to mention Ps. xxxi. 22. Job. xxiv. 12. 2 Kings x. 25, where the meaning is at least doubtful, עִיר in a great many passages, though rendered by our European word *city*, does, in no respect, correspond to the ideas we attach to that term, as implying "a large, populous town;" it simply denotes any collection of human habitations, however small or scattered. Comp. Josh. xv. *passim*. And even if we reject the etymology of עִיר from

the Arab. غَار to be deep or hollow, and rather prefer, with

Gesenius, to connect it with غَار⁵ fervor, turba, that derivation is by no means inconsistent with our supposition as to the nature of Cain's defensive erection for himself and family;

for then the radical notion of the word would be, “an assemblage of human beings living in society.” But it is farther objected, that the record says **וַיִּבֶן** *and he built* Chanoch ; therefore it must have been a city. Had the learned author looked at Gen. ii. 22, he would have seen the very same term used, in reference to the moulding of Adam’s rib into a woman ; so that it may obviously import *formation* or *construction* of any kind. Finally, as to the assertion, that “the giving a name to the structure, proves it to have a city,”—the early history of the eastern people abundantly shews, that it was customary to give names, not only to caves (e. g. Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 9) but to wells (e. g. Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31), and other less important objects.

The Genealogical Table of Nations (p. 99).---On the subject of this chapter, a singular work lately appeared, which seems to have attracted little notice in the country where it was published, but has already found a place in the bibliographical manuals of the Germans, who eagerly welcome every new and startling hypothesis by whomsoever propounded. The title is *Origines Biblicæ* ; or, Researches into Primæval History. By C. T. Beke, Vol. I. London 1834. He takes for his text the division of the earth among the sons of Noah as described in the tenth chapter of Genesis ; and, by dint of torturing words, and even letters (for in all he finds some meaning) he lands himself in such conclusions as the following, viz. that the Book of Genesis was not originally written in Hebrew, and that Moses was neither the author nor compiler—that the Abrahimites changed their language when in slavery ; that *Mizraim* was not Egypt, as is universally believed, but that part of Arabia which lies between the Gulf of Akkaba and Suez—in short, that our commonly-received notions of Oriental Geography are altogether erroneous, the Seventy Translators having deceived the world for ages. The “harvest of the river” mentioned by Isaiah, he gravely imagines to have been the white sand from which glass was manufactured ! Parts of the work seem to have been previously communicated by the

author to the "Royal Society of Literature." A review of it by the celebrated Hebrew scholar *Ewald*, appeared in the *Göttingen Gel. Anzeig.* for 1834, which, in the laconic phrase of a German writer,* contains *blos tadel*, nothing but censure.

On the Origin of Certain Nations, (p. 109).---Compare with these traditions the account given by Abulfaraj in his *Annals*. To the sons of Shem fell the middle of the earth, viz. Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Samaria, (Singar or Shinar?) Babel (or Babylonia) Persia and Hegiāz (Arabia.) To the sons of Ham was assigned the entire region of Teiman or the South, viz. Africa, Nigritia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Sindia, (i. e. the country west of the Indus) and India (i. e. the east of the Indus). To the sons of Japhet was allotted Garbia (Jarbīa) or the North, viz. Spain, France, the countries of the Greeks, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Armenians.

The following is the entire passage of the original, from *Pococke's* Edition of the *Hist. Dynast.* p. 17:—

فالغ بن عابر ولد له اربعو وعمره علي الراي
السبعيني مائة وثلثون سنة وعلي راي اليهود
ثلثون سبة—وجميع ايامه ثلثماية وثلث
واربعون سنة—وفي سنة مائة واربعين لغالغ
فلغت الارض اي قسمت قسمة ثانية بين ولد
نوح—فصار لبني شام وسط المعمورة فلسطين
والشام واثور وسامر (سامرة *al*) وبابل وفارس

* *Fuhrmann* Handbuch d. Neuesten Theolog. Literatur. (brought down to September 1835). Part I. p. 122.

والحجاز—ولبني حام التيمن كله اي الجنوب
افريقية والزنج ومصر والنوبة والحبشة والسند
والهند—ولبني يافث الجربيا اي الشمال الاندلس
والافرنجة وبلاد اليونانيين والصقالبة والبلغار
والترك والارمن

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

Sect. I. *Riphat*. (p. 113).—The Keri reading in 1 Chron. i. 6, is רִפְתִּי. The Chald. and Massora have רִפְתִּי, which the Syr. also has in Gen. x. 3. The Samaritan MSS. have רִפְתִּי with *daleth*, excepting Nos. 64, 66, 127, 363 (Houbig.) of Kennicott which have ר. And 23 of Kennicott's Heb. MSS., have also רִפְתִּי.—The Chaldee and Arabic Verss., take Riphath for France. The Chronicon Alexand. makes it the country of the Garamantæ, and Eusebius that of the Sauro-matæ. The words of *Josephus* (see note 3 to this sect. p. 115) are 'Ριφάθης 'Ριφθαίους ὅπισί τοὺς Παφλαγίους καλουμένους. *Pomponius Mela* (l. 1.) says the ancient inhabitants of Paphlagonia were called Riphætæi or Riphaces. Comp. *Bellermann*, Handbuch II. 305. *Bohlen* (on Genesis, Königsberg, 1835), thinks with *Schulthess* (note 3), of the Rhibii, or of Mount Niphâtes in Armenia.

Sect. II. *Gomer*, (p. 116).—In Gen. x. 2, the Jerusalem Targum, has for Gomer גִּרְיָנָא (the Africans or the Phrygians). The Arab. Vers. has "the Turks." *Josephus* thought the Galatians were from Gomer; he says (Ant. I. 6, 1) τοὺς νῦν ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάλατας καλουμένους, Γομαριῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἱκτισσι, κ. τ. λ. The Syrian opinions will be found in *Assemani* (Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. 2, p. 747), who identifies Gomer with the Garamæi of Ptolemy (6. 1) a people of Assyria or Kourdistan. *Wahl* in his work on Asia (Vol. I., p. 274) compares Gamir, the Armenian name of Cappadocia. But the most probable conjecture is that which connects Go-

mer with the Cimmerians (Κιμμέριοι), especially that branch who settled in the Crimea (Arab. **قَرَم** *Kirim*), whence

بحر القرم *Bahr-el-kirim*, a name of the Kimmerian or Euxine Sea. That the Gomerians and Celts (Kymr) were the same people, is an opinion maintained with great erudition by *Faber* in his *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, Vol. III. B. 6., chap. iii. p. 447. With the *Gumrah* mentioned by *Reineggs* (see above p. 118), compare *Gümry* in Armenia, mentioned in *Smith* and *Dwight's* *Researches*, p. 102, 103.

Sect. III. *Ashkenaz*, (p. 119).---The supposition of *Hasse*, mentioned in p. 120, viz. that *Ashkenaz* gave name to the Euxine Sea, is embraced by Dr. *Hales* in his *Chronology* (Second Edit. Vol. I. p. 353) "Forgetting its etymology in process of time, the Greeks considered it as a compound term in their own language, Α-ξίος, signifying *inhospitable*; and thence metamorphosed it into Ευ-ξίος, *Eu-xenus, very hospitable*."* *Josephus* says (*Ant.* I. 6, 1), Ἀσχανάζος Ἀσχανάζους ἦκισιν, οἱ οὖν Πηγῆνις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται. But there is no trace of any such people in the extant geographies of the Greeks. The Arab. in Gen. x. 3, has الصقالبة (كَلْبَد) — which commonly designates the *Sclavi* or *Sklavonians*.

Sect. IV. *Gog and Magog*, (p. 121).—*Joseph Wolff*, the well known missionary to the Jews, thinks he has discovered the posterity of *Gog* and *Magog* in the *Hazarahs*, a Mongol race of plundering barbarians, who dwell on the south-eastern frontier of *Khorasân*. See his *Researches among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other Sects*, Lond. 1835. *Michaelis* (*Spicileg. Geog.* Part I. p. 24, and *Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* No. 1352) had before him placed the *Mago-*

* In this opinion both *Hasse* and *Hales* had been anticipated by *Bochart*, who was followed by *Wells* and others.

gites beyond the Caspian Sea, in the countries of Khorasán, Chorasmia, Balkh, &c. following in this *Ebedjesu* and other Syrian authorities quoted by Assemani in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 16, 17, 20. Josephus identifies them with the Scythians, as also Eustathius, Jerome, and Theodoret; Ambrose with the Goths; Eusebius with the Celts and Galatians (Gauls); the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle with the Aquitani; the Chaldee Paraphr. with the Germans; the Arab, Vers. with the Tartars, &c. Comp. the Koran, Sur. 18, 94—99, 21, 96. A combination similar to *Yajooj* and *Ma-*

jooj is چین و ماچین *Tchîn* and *Ma-tchîn* for China.

Some regard the syllable *Mā* as the Sanscrit for *great*; others as denoting *place, abode, region*. See *Gesenius Lex. voce.* מגוג.

The Wall of Gog and Magog, (p. 126, 127, note 6,)—The following is the account of *Ker Porter*, (*Travels*, Vol. II. p. 520.)—“The name Daghistān implies a land of mountains, and it contains some of the most inaccessible of this branch of the Caucasian range, which runs directly through the heart of this country. The eastern side, towards the sea, commands the most level ground; and on that shore we find the district and city of Derbent. It possesses a picturesque citadel, though situated at rather an unserviceable distance from the town and harbour; but I am told that part of the ancient wall, named Gog and Magog, is very traceable near this old stronghold, and that its foundations may be tracked thence, running in a westerly direction over even the highest mountains. This place, and its adjacent district, a position deemed of the greatest importance by all conquerors, whether Persians, Greeks, Arabs, &c. who could acquire its possession, is now the property of Russia.” This wall was really built by the famous Noushir-van, king of Persia, as a barrier against the inroads of the Khazars.

That Gog and Magog were to be sought for in the Caucasus, was the idea of *Bochart*. “He observes, says Wells,

(Geog. of the Old Test. Vol. I. p. 121.) that these words גֹּג-חָסָן *Gog-chasan*, denote in the neighbouring Oriental tongues as much as Gog's Fort, and from *Gog-chasan* the Greeks framed the name *Καύκασος*, Caucasus." And besides finding the word Gog preserved in Gogarene, a district of Iberia, he believes Prometheus, chained to the Caucasus by Jupiter, to have been none other than Gog.

The *Scherif-el-Edrisi*, in his geographical work called "The Diversion of the Curious," gives a singular account of Yajooj and Majooj, taken from the travels of one Salam the Interpreter. This person, says he, was sent about the beginning of the ninth century, by the Calif Mohammed Ameen Billah, to discover the mountain Kokaiya, with the bank or rampart of Yajooj and Majooj, who dwelt on the north of it, and who were confined within by a great gate of iron, fifty cubits high, supported by great buttresses, with an iron bulwark reaching to the summit of Kokaiya, almost beyond the reach of vision. The people of Yajooj, says he, are of the common size, but those of Majooj (so far from being giants according to European notion) are a race of pigmies only three spans high.

For farther information respecting the locality of Gog and Magog, the reader is referred to a Dissert. on the subject by *D'Anville*, in the *Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Bell. Lettres*, Vol. XXXI. and *Rennell's Geog. of Herodotus*, p. 152.

Sect. V. *Rosh*, (p. 127.)—The province of Rhædsh or Radsha, in Imerethi (Iberia) is thus spoken of by *Balbi*, following the accounts of Klaproth: "We mention the town of Oni, to call the reader's attention to one of the most curious parts of this region, namely, the mountainous district of Ratcha. This beautiful but neglected country abounds in mines of silver, copper, and iron. The air is pure, and the climate salubrious, a rare circumstance in the Caucasian region. The soil is in some parts covered with the ruins of towns and fortresses; Greek and Sassanian medals are found, and sometimes coins with unknown characters." *Geographie*. Paris 1834, p. 794.

As to the rendering of Ezek. xxxviii. 2, (note 1, p. 123,) Jerome

puts in a parenthesis after *principem capitis* the words ("sive Ros.") Symmachus and Theodotion follow the Septuagint in making Rosh a proper name, and that, indeed, is now the universal opinion. With respect to the people intended by Rosh, Ibn Foslan, an Arabic writer, has written at length of a heathen tribe, called روس, who dwelt on the Volga. His account, translated into German by *Frähn*, was published at St. Petersburg in 1823. Comp. with it, the eminent Orientalist *Von Hammer's* *Origines Russes*. Petersb. 1827. Connecting the name with that of *Tiras* (mentioned in Gen. x. 2,) he thinks their original seat was the ارس Aras or Araxes. Comp. the Koran-Sur.

25, 31: 50, 12. The following are some of the eastern traditions: "The Orientals hold," says *D'Herbelot*, (*Bibl. Orient.* p. 722,) that Japheth had a son called Rous,^a not mentioned by Moses, who peopled Russia, that is Muscovy. They add, that Rous was of a very uneasy and turbulent disposition. He possessed the country beyond the Etel or Volga, and often made inroads into the territories of his brother Khazar, who, to live in peace with him, was forced to cede all the islands of this great river which falls into the Caspian Sea. In all these islands, Rous caused to be sown Turkey wheat, which the Turks to this day, in their own tongue, call wheat of *Rous*, or of Bulgaria. He enacted very unjust laws, to which he forced all his subjects to submit. Among others, one excluded male heirs from succeeding to their father's estates, and made them devolve entirely to females. He likewise introduced the custom of putting a sword into the hands of boys as soon as they were able to manage it, with these words, "This is your inheritance."

The same authors relate, that Japheth had a son called Seclab (Sklavonians), who chiefly turned his mind to building of houses and cities, because of the number of his children. When these had increased to a great multitude, they desired lands for cultivation of their brethren the children of

^a See the present volume, p. 107.

Rous, but met with a positive refusal. They afterwards solicited the descendants of Khazar and Gomari their brethren also, but with no better success; so that they thought force was their only means to acquire possession, but then all their neighbours confederated against them, so that they were obliged to relinquish their enterprize, and to retire to a very cold country beyond the seventh climate. *Mirkhond* says, that the Seclabs inhabit the country of the Hyperboreans to this day, where they are forced to live under ground during the winter season. He also says, that Seclab had a son whose mother died at his birth; so that they were obliged to feed him with the milk of a hare; for this reason, when the child grew up he could leap and run with the most incredible nimbleness and swiftness, which qualities continued hereditary in the family." The most ancient name of the Volga (where Rous settled) was the *Rha* or *Rhas*, which some have thought the Araxes, but we are assured on good authority that the two words are radically different in the Armenian tongue. See *Saint Martin* Mem. sur l'Armenie, I. 38. II. 228. It is still called *Rhaon* by the Morduates, a Finnish tribe. *Volga* appears to be the Slavonic name, and *Etel* or *Itel* the Tartaric.

Sect. VI. *Meshech and Tubal*, (p. 130.)---The former word seems derived from מִשֶׁחַ to seize, hold, possess; the etymology of the latter is less obvious. We find it previously occurring^a in the name of Tubal-kain (Gen. iv. 22), which many German critics explain from the Persian توبل *tubal* or rather توپل

tupal, metallic ore, and the Arabic قِيس a smith; though the latter is, by Michaelis, Dathe, and others, regarded as merely an appellative surname, drawn from his profession, q. d. Tubal the Smith. *Simenis* (Onomastic), and *Rosenmüller* (Scholia in loc.) derive תובל from יבֿל a river. From the similarity of the names of the three sons of Lamech, viz. Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal, I should be disposed to seek their derivation in a common root יבֿל a verb of extensive import.

^a In Gen. iv. 22, it has in Heb. the *Wau* expressed, תובל but not in Gen. x. 2. The Samaritan Pentateuch has the *Wau* in both places.

The country of Meshech and Tubal is supposed to have been that branch of the Caucasus, called by the ancients the Moschian, and by the moderns the Tchildir range. See *Ker Porter's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 152. Recent Travellers thus speak of it: " Akhaltsikhe (or Akhiskhah) is situated in the mountains which were called by the Greeks Moschici, and gave to the region the name of *Meschia*. They now bear the name of Childir-dagh; evidently related to the Chaldæi, who once occupied those parts. It is the only place of importance now existing in the ancient Armenian province of Daik, and was, before the war, the capital of a small pashalik. No other place that came within the range of our inquiry in Turkish Armenia, contains any Jews.* Here they number about sixty families in the city, and as many in the surrounding villages. They have been in the country from time immemorial, and speak no language but Turkish and Georgian. There are also in the pashalik many people of Georgian race. The Turks seem to have inherited much of the bravery of its ancient Armenian inhabitants, but they were a bad people. Besides giving an asylum to the discontented subjects of the Georgian provinces, they carried on, according to information given us by Turks themselves, in Kars, a clandestine slave-trade with their neighbours of Colchis, introducing the victims of their traffic through a convenient pass in the mountains. In fact, being, like Poty and Anapa, situated in the vicinity of people given, from the earliest times, to selling their children and serfs, and from which the harems of the Turks have procured their favourites, and its palaces their Mamelukes for ages; the Turks made use of it for the same inhuman purposes as they did those fortresses. It is not, therefore, surprising that, at the close of the late war, the Russians should, together with them, have retained it also, and the neighbouring fortresses of Azghoor and Akhalkalaki. Most of its Turkish inhabitants have retired to Erzroom and

* So that, considering their harsh treatment by the Turks, they have *literally* to utter the complaint in Ps. cxx, " Woe is me, that I dwell in Meshech!"—M.

other parts of Turkey. It is 36 hours from Kars and 34 from Tiflis; and I suppose the road from the former passes near Gümry, as we did not part company with the emigrating Armenians till we crossed the Arpachai near that place." *Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches*, p. 99.

Sect. VII. *Thogarmah* (p. 133.)—The Sept. MSS. make sad work of this word, writing it *Θεργαμά*, *Θεργαμά*, *Θεργυμά*, and *Θεργατά*. Josephus has also *Θυγγάμμυς* and *Θεργάμμυς*. Among the fathers *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, and *Isidorus of Seville*, are of the received opinion that *Thogarmah* is to be sought in Armenia. *Josephus* and *Jerome* think of Phrygia; *Bochart* of Cappadocia; *Calmet* and others of Turcomania; the Chaldee and Rabbins of Germany, &c.

When the German traveller *Guldenstedt* was in the Caucasus, he obtained access to a Georgian Chronicle,* of which the following is an extract. It will be seen to be confirmatory of what *Rosenmüller* has stated at p. 133–4, 146. "In the year of the world 1792, there dwelt in a fortress, on Mount Ararat, a man of the name of Targamos. He lived 600 years, and was the father of eight sons:

1. Aos, the ancestor of the *Armenians*.
2. Kartelos, of the *Georgians* (*Kartnelta*.)
3. Baidos, of the people of Ranta (*Shirwan*.)
4. Moakan, of the *Mokavnelta* (*Erivan*.)
5. Lekas, of the *Lecta* (*Lesquis*.)
6. Eros, of the *Mingrelians* (*Mingrella*.)
7. Kaukas of the *Caucasians* (*Kaukasianta*.)
8. Egros, of the *Imeretians* and *Caketians*.

Comp. *Ellis' Essay on the Caucasian Nations* [attached to his *Memoir of a Map of the Caucasus*.] Lond. 1788.

Country of Ararat, (p. 134, 148).—In Gen. viii. 4, the Vulg. has *Montes Armenia*, and in other places where Ararat

* Much curious information respecting Georgia and the adjoining countries will be found in the "*Chronique Georgienne*," edited by *M. Brosset* (with a French translation.) Paris, 1830, 8vo.

occurs, it has *Terra Armeniorum*. That the mountain upon which the ark rested was in that country, is an opinion that is all but universal. There is indeed another tradition which identifies it rather with Mount Jūdī جودي, one of the Gordiæan or Carduchian range, which separates Armenia from Kurdistan, the ancient Assyria. At the foot of that mountain lies a village called Karya Thāminin قرية ثامينين, i. e. *the Village of Eighty*.^a The Syr. and Chald. Translators seem to have followed this tradition, for they both have ܩܪܝܬ ܩܕܝܬ the Carduchian Mountains, the seat of the Carduchii, the modern Kurds. The Arab. of Erpenius has جبال القرد Jibal el-Karūd^b which is likewise found in "the Book of Adam," of the Zabæans. See *Norberg's* Onomast. p. 134. Comp. the Koran, XI. 46. *D'Herbelot* Bibl. Orient. p. 404. *Assemani* Bibl. Orient. II. p. 113.

Others look for the Ararat of Scripture farther to the east. See *Wells' Geog.* I. p. 60. As the tradition of the deluge became universal, it was natural for the inhabitants of mountainous countries to connect the resting-place of the ark with the most conspicuous elevation in their own neighbourhood. Thus we are informed by Burnes (*Travels to Bokhara*, I. p. 117), that on the road between Peshawur and Cabool, "the Sufued Koh, or white mountain, reared its crest on one side, and the tower-

^a *William de Rubriques*, who travelled in 1253, mentions a place called *Cemainim*; the mountain near it being called *Macis*, or "the Mother of the World." *Hales' Chron.* II. p. 333, note. There is a Mahometan tradition that not *Eight*, but *Eighty* persons were saved from the flood.

^b As I have not access to the original of Erpenius, I here follow *Winer* (Bibl. Realwörterb. Art. Ararat.) *Bochart* has the same orthography, in Hebrew characters אלקרוד. But ought it not to be אלקרוד, or in Arabic letters, القردو *el-Kardu*?

ing hill of Neorgill or Koener on the other ; here the Afghans believe the ark of Noah to have rested after the deluge, and this Mount Ararat of Afghanistan, from its great height, is certainly worthy of the distinction ; it is covered with perpetual snow," and again at (p. 122,) "in the country of Lughman, between Jukulabad and the mountains, the people point out the tomb of Metur Lam, or Lamech, the father of Noah."

—Another mountain which is peculiarly sacred throughout the East, is Adam's Peak in the Island of Ceylon, and it is a singular circumstance that in Gen. viii. 4, the Samaritan Vers. has סרנדיב Sarandib, the Arabic name for Ceylon. See the extract from Selden at p. 16, and *Winer's Dissert. de Vers. Samar. Indole*, § 55. In the Sibylline verses, it is said that the Mountains of Ararat lay in Phrygia, but Bochart has shewn that the mistake arose from the circumstance of a city in Phrygia, having borne the name of Apamea Kibōtos, the latter word signifying in Greek, "an ark." See Calmet under Apamea, and Taylor's Fragments, No. 518.

Divisions of Armenia, (p. 137.)—At present Armenia is divided among Turkey, Persia, and Russia. The last war between Russia and Persia, ended in the Treaty of Turkoman-shee, 21st February 1828, by which the Khanats of Erivan and Nakhshivan were ceded to Russia, and the boundary-line is now drawn from the Turkish dominions, passes over the summit of the little Ararat, and down the Lower Kara-Su to the Araxes. It then follows the Araxes during the greater part of its middle course by Abbasabad and Yedibouloob, traversing the plain of Mogan to Adina Bazaar, ascending the current of that name to its source, and thence running along the west of the Elboorz Mountains to the source of the Ash-tara, which it follows to the Caspian. It thus places the greater part of Talish under the Russian dominion, besides the islands in the Caspian that lie within its compass. The line of separation between Persian and Turkish Armenia begins at Mount Ararat, and, proceeding south, follows the range of hills which separate the rivers falling into the Tigris and

Lake Van, from those that run towards the Araxes and Lake Oormiah. It thus appears that Mount Ararat is, so to speak, the central boundary-stone of the three empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

Name of Armenia, (p. 148.)—On the orthography of Armenia, *Abulfeda* (in a portion of his *Geographical Tables*, edited for the first time by *Wüstenfeld* in 1835,) remarks,

وقال ياقوت ارمينية بكسر الهمزة وسكون

الراء المهملة وكسر الميم وسكون اليا اخر الحروف

وكسر النون ثم يا ثانية مخففة وقد تشديد

—وذكر ضبط ارمينية في الباب بفتح الهمزة

that is, “according to *Yākūt*, it is spelt ارمينية or ارمينية

Irmīniya or *Irmīniya*, but, according to *El-Lobāb*, the initial vowel is *A*.”

The author of “the Modern Traveller” (*Josiah Conder*) has prefixed to the English edition of *Smith and Dwight’s* *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, a *Sketch of Armenian History*, in which he observes (p. 15) that “the original Armenia, the *Minni* of the Hebrew Scriptures, was probably limited to the provinces of Erivan and Nakhshivan, which now alone, by a singular fortune, retains under Russian sway that denomination.” But respecting the boundaries of the province of *Minni* we are altogether ignorant; and indeed the name *Armenia* has varied exceedingly as to the extent of its application, both in ancient and modern times. Towards the close of the last war between Russia and Turkey, large bodies of native Armenians emigrated into the Russian territories, and their number in what is called Turkish Armenia must now be very considerably reduced.

Saint Martin conjectures that the name *Minni* may refer

to the Manavazians, a distinguished Armenian tribe, descended from Manavaz, a son of Haik, the capital of whose country was Manavazagerd, now Melazgerd. See his *Memoires sur l'Arménie*, Vol. I. p. 249.

Parrot's Ascent to Mount Ararat, (p. 143, 151.)—Several attempts had been made to reach the top of Ararat, but few persons had got beyond the limit of perpetual snow. The French traveller *Tournefort*, in the year 1700, persevered long in the face of many difficulties, but was foiled in the end. Nearly thirty years ago the Pacha of Bayazeed undertook the ascent, but with no better success. The honour was reserved to a German, *Dr. Parrot*, to be the first to tread this lofty eminence. The following particulars of his visit are extracted from his "*Reise zum Ararat*," of which the reader will find a notice in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for June 1835.

"The summit of the great Ararat is situated in $39^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude, and $61^{\circ} 55'$ east longitude from Ferro; its perpendicular height is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly 5 wersts above the level of the sea; and 13,530 Paris feet, or rather more than 4 wersts above the plain of the Araxes. The north-eastern declivity of the mountain may be estimated at 20, its north-western at 30 wersts in length. In the former, we recognise at some distance the deep black chasm, which many have compared to an extinct crater, but which has always appeared to me to resemble a cleft, as if the mountain had once been split from above. From the summit, for about one werst in a perpendicular, or four wersts in an oblique direction, it is covered with a mantle of eternal snow and ice, the lower edge of which is indented according to the elevation or depression of the ground. On the whole of the north side of the mountain, however, from about 13,300 Paris feet, or rather more than four wersts, above the level of the sea, it runs along in one rigid crust, broken but by few projections of rock, up to the summit, over which it extends down to the southern side, of a less considerable depth. This is the hoary head of Ararat. The little Ararat lies in $39^{\circ} 39'$ north lati-

tude, $62^{\circ} 2'$ east longitude from Ferro. Its summit is elevated 12,284 Paris feet, rather above $3\frac{1}{2}$ wersts perpendicular above the level of the sea, and 9561 Paris feet above the plain of the Araxes. Notwithstanding this considerable elevation, it is not covered with perpetual snow; but, in September and October, and probably in August, or even earlier, it is quite free from it. In shape it is almost a perfect cone. Numerous small furrows, which radiate from the summit, give this mountain a peculiar and very interesting character.

The impression which the sight of Ararat makes on every one whose mind is capable of comprehending the stupendous works of the Creator, is awful and mysterious, and many a sensitive and intelligent traveller has endeavoured, with glowing pen and skilful pencil, to describe this impression; and in the feeling that no description, no delineation, can come up to the sublime object before him, every one who has made such an attempt, must certainly have experienced how difficult it is to avoid, both in language and in sketching, every thing that is poetical in expression or exaggerated in form, and to keep strictly within the bounds of truth.*

Now follows the detailed account of his journey to the top. He appears to have been in the service of Russia, whose armies, in the last contest with Turkey, were, at this period, (1829,) in possession of the surrounding country. After he and his party had failed in two attempts to ascend, the third proved successful.

"In the meantime, the sky cleared up, and the air became serene and calm, the mountain was more quiet, the noise occasioned by the falling of the masses of ice and snow grew less frequent; in short, every thing seemed to indicate that a favourable turn was about to take place in the weather, and I hastened to embrace it, for a third attempt to ascend the mountain. On the 25th of September, I sent to ask Stephan whether he would join us, but he declined, saying, that he had suffered too much from the former excursion to venture

* Among the many views of Ararat that have been given by travellers, Parrot gives the preference to that of *Sir William Ouseley*.—M.

again so soon ; he, however, promised to send four stout peasants with three oxen and a driver. Early the next morning four peasants made their appearance at the camp, to join our expedition, and soon after a fifth, who offered himself voluntarily. To them I added two of our soldiers. The deacon again accompanied us, as well as Mr. Hehn, who wished to explore the vegetation at a greater elevation, but he did not intend to proceed beyond the line of snow. The experience of the preceding attempt had convinced me that everything depended on our passing the first night, as closely as possible to this boundary, in order to be able to ascend and return from the summit in one day, and to confine our baggage to what was absolutely necessary. We therefore took with us only three oxen, laden with the clothing, wood, and provisions. I also took a small cross, carved in oak. We chose our course towards the same side as before ; and, in order to spare ourselves, Abowian and I rode on horseback, wherever the rocky nature of the soil permitted it, as far as the grassy plain Kip-Ghioll, whence we sent the horses back. Here Mr. Hehn parted from us. It was scarcely twelve o'clock when we reached this point ; and, after taking our breakfast, we proceeded in a direction rather more oblique than on our former attempt. The cattle were, however, unable to follow us so quickly. We, therefore, halted at some rocks, which it would be impossible for them to pass ; took each our own share of clothing and wood, and sent back the oxen. At half-past five in the evening we were not far from the snow line, and considerably higher than the place where we passed the night on our previous excursion. The elevation of this point was 13,036 Paris feet above the level of the sea, and the large masses of rock determined me to take up our quarters here. A fire was soon made, and a warm supper prepared. I had some onion broth, a dish which I would recommend in preference to meat broth, as being extremely warm and invigorating. This being a fast day, poor Abowian was not able to enjoy it. The other Armenians, who strictly adhered to their rules of fasting, contented themselves with bread, and the

brandy, which I distributed among them in a limited quantity, as this cordial must be taken with great caution, especially where the strength has been previously much tried, as it otherwise produces a sense of exhaustion and inclination to sleep. It was a magnificent evening; and with my eye fixed on the clear sky, and the lofty summit which projected against it, and then again on the dark night, which was gathering far below, and around me, I experienced all those delightful sensations of tranquillity, love, and devotion, that silent reminiscence of the past, that subdued glance into the future, which a traveller never fails to experience when on lofty elevations, and under pleasing circumstances. I laid myself down under an overhanging rock of lava, the temperature of the air at $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which was tolerably warm, considering our great height.

At day-break we rose and began our journey at half-past six. We crossed the last broken declivities in half an hour, and entered the boundary of eternal snow, nearly at the same place as in our preceding ascent. In consequence of the increased warmth of the weather, the new fallen snow which had facilitated our progress on our previous ascent, had melted away, and again frozen, so that, in spite of the still inconsiderable slope, we were compelled to cut steps in the ice. This very much embarrassed our advance, and added greatly to our fatigue. One of the peasants had remained behind in our resting place, as he felt unwell. Two others became exhausted in ascending the side of the glacier. They at first lay down, but soon retreated to our quarters. Without being disheartened by those difficulties, we proceeded, and soon reached the great cleft which marks the upper edge of the declivity of the large glacier, and at ten o'clock we arrived at the great plain of snow which marks the first break on the icy head of Ararat. At the distance of a verst we saw the cross which we had reared on the 19th of September, but it appeared to me so extremely small, probably on account of its black colour, that I almost doubted whether I should be able to find it again with an ordinary telescope from the plain

of the Araxes. In the direction towards the summit, a shorter, but at the same time a steeper declivity than the one we had passed lay before us; and between this and the extreme summit, there appeared to be only one small hill. After a short repose we passed the first precipice, which was the steepest of all, by hewing out steps in the rock, and after this the next elevation. But here, instead of seeing the ultimate goal of all our difficulties, immediately before us appeared a series of hills, which even concealed the summit from our sight. This rather abated our courage, which had never yielded for a moment, so long as we had all our difficulties in view, and our strength, exhausted by the labour of hewing the rock, seemed scarcely commensurate with the attainment of the now invisible object of our wishes. But a review of what had been already accomplished, and of that which might still remain to be done, the proximity of the series of projecting elevations, and a glance at my brave companions, banished my fears, and we boldly advanced. We crossed two more hills, and the cold air of the summit blew towards us. I stepped from behind one of the glaciers, and the extreme cone of Ararat lay distinctly before my enraptured eyes. But one more effort was necessary. Only one other icy plain was to be ascended, and at a quarter past three, on the 27th of September O. S. 1829, we stood on the summit of Mount Ararat!"

Having thus happily accomplished his fatiguing and perilous enterprise, our author's first wish and enjoyment was repose; he spread his cloak on the ground, and, sitting down, contemplated the boundless, but desolate prospect around him. He was on a slightly convex, almost circular platform, about 200 Paris feet in diameter, which, at the extremity, declines pretty steeply on all sides, particularly towards the S. E. and N. E. It was the silver crest of Ararat composed of eternal ice, unbroken by a rock or stone. Towards the east the summit declined more gently than in any other direction, and was connected by a hollow, likewise covered with perpetual ice, with another rather lower summit, which, by Mr. Federow's trigonometrical measurement, was found to be 187 toises dis-

tant from the principal summit. On account of the immense distances, nothing could be seen distinctly. The whole valley of the Araxes was covered with a grey mist, through which Erivan and Sardarabad appeared as small dark spots; to the south were seen more distinctly, the hills behind which lies Bayazeed; to the N. W., the rugged top of Alaghes, covered with vast masses of snow, probably an inaccessible summit; near to Ararat, especially to the S. E., and at a great distance towards the west, are numerous small conical hills, which look like extinct volcanoes; to the E. S. E. was Little Ararat, whose head did not appear like a cone, as it does from the plain, but like the top of a square truncated pyramid, with larger and smaller rocky elevations on the edges and in the middle; but what very much surprised Professor Parrot, was to see a large portion of Lake Goktschai, which appeared in the N. E., like a beautiful shining dark blue patch, behind the lofty chain of mountains which encloses it on the south, and which is so high, that he never could have believed he should have been able from the top of Ararat to see over its summit into the lake behind it. Mr. Parrot having allowed himself time to enjoy this prospect, proceeded to observe his barometer; which he placed precisely in the middle of the summit. The mercury was no higher than 15 inches, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a line, Paris measure, the temperature being $3\frac{1}{8}$ below the freezing point of the centigrade thermometer. By comparing this observation with that which Mr. Federow made at the same time, at the convent of St. James's, the elevation of the summit appears to be 10,272 Paris feet above the convent, and adding to that the height of the latter, the top of Ararat is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly five wersts above the level of the sea. While the Professor was engaged in his observations, the deacon planted the cross, not precisely on the summit, where it could not have been seen from the plain, as it was only five feet high, but on the N. E. edge, about thirty feet lower than the centre of the summit. The Professor and his five companions, viz. the deacon, two Russian soldiers, and two Armenian peasants, having remained three quarters of an hour on the summit, commenced their

descent, which was very fatiguing; but they hastened, as the sun was going down, and before they reached the place where the great cross was erected, it had already sunk below the horizon.

"It was a glorious sight, says the traveller, to see the dark shadows which the mountains in the west cast upon the plain, and then the profound darkness which covered all the vallies, and gradually rose higher and higher on the sides of Ararat, whose icy summit was still illuminated by the beams of the setting sun. But the shadows soon passed over that also, and would have covered our path with a gloom that would have rendered our descent dangerous, had not the sacred lamp of night, opportunely rising above the eastern horizon, cheered us with its welcome beams."

"Having passed the night on the same spot as on their ascent, where they found their companions, they arrived the next day at noon at the convent of St. James, and on the following day, Sunday the 28th of September, O. S., they offered their grateful thanksgiving to heaven for the success of their arduous enterprize, perhaps not far from the spot where Noah built an altar to the Lord."

"We have lately received (says the reviewer) an account of an ascent of Mount Ararat in the middle of August 1834, accomplished by a Mr. Antonomoff, a young man holding an office in Armenia, who was induced to make the attempt, partly to satisfy his own curiosity, and partly out of regard for the reputation of Professor Parrot; whose having actually reached the summit of the mountain is still obstinately denied, particularly by the inmates of the convent, who fancy that the truth would lower the opinion of the people with regard to the sanctity of their mountain: Mr. Antonomoff succeeded in reaching the summit; the large cross, set up by Mr. Parrot, was nearly covered with snow, the smaller cross, planted on the summit, was not to be found, and was probably buried in the snow. One of his guides, who had also accompanied Mr. Parrot, shewed him the spot where it had been set up. He asked some persons to look while he was at

the top and try if they could see him. On his coming down, however, nobody would admit having seen him there ; they all affirmed, that to reach the summit was impossible ; and though he and his guides agreed, the magistrates of the village refused not only to give him a certificate of his having ascended the mountain, but even of his guides having declared he had done so."

This disbelief of the assertion that the mountain has actually been ascended, is not confined to the people of the country, but is shared by the American Missionaries, Messrs. Smith and Dwight, (*Researches in Armenia*, p. 267, note), who, in justification of their incredulity, say, that the report was not believed by many of the Russians, and hint that even the governor of the province was sceptical. But the idea that a man of Dr. Parrot's scientific character could either be deceived himself, or could procure the men of his party to join with him in propagating a deliberate falsehood, presents too improbable a supposition to be for a moment admitted. The repeated ascents of Mont Blanc and other mountains, nearly as elevated, and in a much colder latitude, render Parrot's account perfectly credible.

The incredulity of the Armenians, as to the possibility of ascending to the top of Ararat, is based on their superstition. "They are firmly persuaded that Noah's ark exists to the present day on the summit of the mountain, and that, in order to preserve it, no person is permitted to approach it. We learn the grounds of this tradition from the Armenian chronicles, in the legend of a monk of the name of James, who was afterwards patriarch of Nesibis, and a cotemporary and relative of St. Gregory. It is said that this monk, in order to settle the disputes which had arisen with respect to the scriptural accounts of Noah, resolved to ascend to the top of Ararat to convince himself of the existence of the ark. At the declivity of the mountain, however, he had several times fallen asleep from exhaustion, and found, on awakening, that he had been unconsciously carried down to the point from which he first set out. God at length had compassion on his un-

wearied though fruitless exertions, and during his sleep sent an angel with the message, that his exertions were unavailing, but, as a reward for his indefatigable zeal, he sent him a piece of the ark, the very same which is now preserved as the most valuable relic in the cathedral of Etschmiadzen. The belief in the impossibility of ascending Mount Ararat has, in consequence of this tradition, which is sanctioned by the church, almost become an article of faith, which an Armenian would not renounce, even if he were placed in his own proper person upon the summit of the mountain."

Sect. VIII. *Scythia* (p. 155.)—In Jer. xxxix. 3, the Chald. word *Sar-sechim* occurs, which some would render "prince of the Sacæ," a Scythian nation; but the context shews it is a proper name, and so the ancient versions have regarded it. The Chaldean word *אפרסחתים* in Ezra iv. 9 has been translated "near the Sacæ," but the *ן* forbids this. Our Eng. vers. has "the Apharsath-chites." *Michaelis* thinks that *סרתים* denotes the province of *Sitakene*, of which there were two; one on the east side of the Palus Mæotis, and another on the east bank of the Tigris, in the south of Assyria. The prefix *Aphar* might distinguish the one from the other. *Grotius* and *Gesenius* think of the *Παρασάται*, others of the *Paraetaceni*. (Herod. I. 101.) In Kennicott's MS., No. 4, there is the reading *אפרסחתים*, which is plainly a clerical error. In Ezra v. 6, and in Kennicott's MS., No. 153, at Ezra iv. 9, we find in Chald. *אפר סתים* (Eng. Vers. *Apharsachites*), put instead of the *Apharsath-chites* and various other colonists enumerated at chap. iv. 9. That word has more resemblance to the *Sacæ*, and yet we can scarcely look for them so far south. Herodotus informs us (VII. 64) that the name *Sacæ* was given by the Persians to the Scythians indiscriminately. See *Bellermann's Handbuch*, II. p. 263, 4.

END OF APPENDIX TO CHAP. IV.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

Media.—The present state of Mazanderan (p. 161), is thus described by a late traveller. “Mazanderan is a disagreeable country; and has so moist a climate, that the inhabitants are subject to fevers, agues, dropsies, palsies, and many other diseases. The people are sallow, and the children weak and rickety. It is a land of snakes and frogs; but the snakes are not venomous, being of the water species. They are to be seen twisting and turning everywhere; and about the thickness of a good sized whip. Almost at every pace, your horse disturbs some frogs, who scramble in vain for concealment, even in a country of bushes and shrubs. So great is the moisture, that the rice crops are not cut as in other countries. They mow the grain down near the ear, and place it to dry on the stubble; for it would otherwise rot. Mazanderan is a rich province. The sugar cane thrives in it, but they do not appear to prepare it beyond the first stage, and sell it as molasses. Cotton also grows luxuriantly, and silk worms are educated everywhere. The fruit is good, and much of it grows wild. There are whole woods of pomegranate-trees; and the people collect the fruit, and after drying the seeds in the sun, export them as a rarity to other countries. The peasantry, with a sickly, have yet a comfortable appearance. They tie folds of cloth round their legs, and fix them with a low shoe and lacing cords. They wade through their muddy roads with these, and tell you they are superior to boots, since they may be dried in the evening.”—*Burnes' Travels*, Vol. II. p. 125.

Ecbatana or *Achmeta* (p. 163.)—Ortelius, Della Valle, Chardin, &c. identify this city with *Tebriz*, and have been followed in this by the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, Gibbon, Jones, and others; but it is the now universally received opinion (after D'Anville and Rennell) that it is the modern *Hamadan*. Some cogent arguments for this belief will be found in a note by *Bell* in his edition of *Rollin's Ancient History*, Vol. I. p. 143. "Xenophon, in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, says, that, 'being arrived at a place where the Tigris was unfordable, and an almost impassable range of mountains in front, they examined the prisoners respecting the direction of their course, who told them that four roads branched off at that place; one led south to Babylon and Media, another, to the east, led to Susa and Ecbatana, a third led west over the Tigris to Lydia and Ionia, and a fourth went north to the Carduchian territories.' At this day such a branching off of four different roads actually takes place at the very spot mentioned by Xenophon. It is the modern village of Hatarrah, forty miles S. E. of the city of Zaku: where one road leads to Mosul and Bagdad south; another to Hamadan, by the Pass of Derbend or the Iron Gate; a third to Amadia, the ancient Marde; and a fourth into Mesopotamia." As a further proof that Hamadan and not Tebriz is the ancient Ecbatana, Alexander's march from Persepolis thither may be appealed to. It was performed in twelve days. Now Hamadan is 480 geographical miles from Persepolis. He marched, of course, 40 such miles a day, one of the most rapid marches recorded in history. But if Tabriz had been Ecbatana, he could not have reached it in twelve days, the distance between them being upwards of 700 miles.

The Tomb of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan (p. 168.)—The following is Morier's account: "Near to the Mesjid Jumah, in a court filled with tombs, stands a building called the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai. It is built of brick, and consists of two chambers, one of which is merely

an entrance or anti-room to the other, and appears to be modern compared with the rest of the structure. But the whole does not look of greater antiquity than the first ages of Mahomedanism. It is crowned by a cupola, which partakes of the elliptical form of those erected at the present day in Persia, and its architecture, in other respects, has all the features of an origin, not earlier, at the farthest, than the Saracen invasion. Sir Gore Ouseley copied and translated an Hebrew inscription,^a rudely carved on a stone and inserted in the wall of the inner chamber, which states that the building was erected in the year 4474 of the creation, by two devout Jews of Kashan, over the graves of Mordecai and Esther. But the old rabbi who escorted us, before he had discovered that the ambassador could decypher his inscription, boldly asserted that the bones of those holy personages were actually buried in that very spot, and that the mausoleum, which we now saw, was the pious work of the son of Ardeshir.¹

“ However, as soon as he found that he might be detected, he confessed, what he could no longer conceal, and agreed with us that it would be difficult to determine where the actual relics were deposited. This mausoleum, upon the summit of which was a stork’s nest, is a very picturesque object. It is entered by a stone door made of one large slate, which is opened by inserting the hand through a hole cut for the purpose. . . The first chamber was a deposit for the emblems of death; for besides lamps, we found the *taboot*, or wooden litter, in which the dead are carried to the grave, and other appurtenances. We crept into the second chamber through a door, about a foot and a half in height, and there found two wooden frames carved all over with Hebrew characters, and shaped like ancient sarcophagi: these were alleged to be the tombs. The walls were inscribed with passages from the Talmud, by characters formed of plaster, and were lighted by small apertures in the cupola. The poor Jews who attended us were

^a See the translation in Sir John Malcolm’s *Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 260, but comp. Rosenmüller at p. 125, note 21.

not a little delighted to see us take so much notice of their ancestry, whilst the Mahomedans seemed indignant that we should interest ourselves in any thing that regarded so despised a nation; for here, as in all parts of Persia, they are an abject race, and support themselves by driving a peddling trade. Two hundred families of them live in a state of great misery, paying twenty *tomauns* monthly to the government, and are not permitted to cultivate the ground, or to have landed possessions." He adds some remarks on the identity of Hamadan and Ecbatana. "It has been decided by the two best modern authorities, D'Anville and Rennell,^a that Hamadan occupies the site of the ancient Ecbatana; and that the mountain of Alwend is the Orontes of the ancient geography; such observations as we were enabled to make on the spot have tended to confirm their decision. The situation of Hamadan, so much unlike that of other Persian cities, would of itself be sufficient to establish its claim to a remote origin, considering the propensity of the ancients to build their cities on elevated positions. Ispahan, Shiraz, Teheran, Tabriz, Khoi, are all built upon plains; but Hamadan occupies a great diversity of surface, and, like Rome and Constantinople, can enumerate the hills over which it is spread. Its locality agrees with that of Ecbatana, built on the declivity of Orontes according to Polybius,^b and is also conformable to Herodotus, who, in describing its walks, rising in circles one above the other, says this mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was on a hilly ground—*πελωνὲς ἰόν.*^c *L'assiette du lieu, qui s'élève en colline* of Larcher, better expresses the nature of the ground, than a *gently rising ground*, which Beloe has adopted in his translation." *Morier's Second Journey* (p. 265, 266), where a view of Hamadan is given.

Hamadan, it may be remarked, is the principal place in Persia for obtaining Eastern medals, and the engraved gems and other antique relics which are illustrative of the Mithratic worship,

^a Anc. Geo. Media V. Geo. Sys. Herod. p. 272.

^b Lib. x. 24.

^c Clilo. 98.

and have been the subject of the learned researches of Baron Von Hammer and Lajard. Comp. *Hoeck*, *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*. Göttingen 1818, 4to, and *Alexander's Travels in Persia*.

The Conquests of Tiglath-Pileser, and Salmanasser (p. 172, 180.)—On the road between Hamadan and Bagdad, not far from Kermanshah, are the remarkable sculptures and inscriptions on the rocks at *Besittoon* or *Bisûtân*.^a The lower compartment is by *Maedonald Kinneir* (Geogr. Memoir on the Persian Empire), ascribed to Semiramis, according to an account by Ctesias, as reported by Diodorus Siculus. A little to the east, and higher up the rock, is a line of nine figures, with their hands tied behind their backs, and united by a rope passed round their necks. Before them stands a person of majestic stature with two attendants, holding in his left hand a lance, and resting it, together with his left foot, on a man, who lies prostrate on his back imploring mercy. *Sir R. Ker Porter* hazards the opinion, that the whole is a representation of the conquest and captivity of the ten tribes of Israel by Salmanasser, king of Assyria (including Media,) *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 154. Comp. the above work of *Hoeck*, p. 139. But, in our ignorance of the accompanying inscriptions (which are in the cuneiform character, and have never yet been copied) the matter must remain in obscurity. The execution of these bas-reliefs is very fine, and exactly in the style of those at Persepolis.

To *Major Rennell* belongs the merit of tracing out the localities mentioned as the scene of Israel's captivity in 1 Chron. v. 26, 2 Kings xvii. 6, by their present names. *Halah*, or rather *Chalach*, he compares with the district of *Chalcal*; *Habor* with the city of *Abhar* or *Habar*, and the river *Gozan* with the *Kissil-Ozan*, which separates Greater from

^a The word denotes "without pillars." Keppel (in his "Journey over land from India,") thinks it may be a corruption of *Bist-sûtân*, "Twenty Pillars," like the *Tchihl-Sutun* or Forty Pillars of Ispahan.

Lesser Media. See *Rennell's Geography of Herodotus*, Sect. 15. *Bell*, in a note to his Edition of Rollin's *Anc. Hist.* I. p. 135, instead of Abhar thinks of Herab, at the foot of Ak-dagh, i. e. *the White Mountain*. As to *Hara*, Rennell compares the district of Tarom; Bell the city of Ahar; but there is more probability in supposing it the Hebrew translation of the Arabic الجبال and the Persian کوهستان i. e. the Highlands, which are still names of Great Media or Persian Irāk.

The Present Condition of the Guebers, (p. 187).—"Some few indeed, poor and steadfast in their creed, not having it in their power to seek a distant asylum, remained in a kind of bondage on their native soil: worshipping the bright luminary of heaven with eyes ever bent to the ground, and pouring tears for lustral waters on its dishonoured shrines. Whilst the richer multitudes fled to the mountainous frontiers or to the shores of India, this devoted remnant found a sort of hopeless security in their poverty and utter wretchedness; and wandering away to Yezd and Kerman, as places least in the notice of their conqueror, sought and obtained something of a refuge. Yezd still contains about four or five thousand of their descendants; and from the comparative respectability of so considerable a body, they more openly exercise the offices of their religion there, (and from the same reason in Kerman,) than is ever attempted by the poorer Guebers in the villages about. These people are excellent husbandmen, gardeners and mechanics; and some few follow the occupation of merchandise, though on a very limited scale. The liberal spirit of Shah Abbas tolerated their existence at Ispahan, where afterwards the Afghan Mahmoud gave them a mart and enlarged their suburb, still called Guebrabad, but, like that of the Armenian colony from Julpha, it is fallen to decay, nothing now inhabiting its ruined streets but houseless dogs and the refuse of the people. Fars,

the ancient Persis, and the very college of the Mithratic faith, where the sacred books of Zoroaster were laid up in the bosom of the rock on which its capital stood, and the Magi had towns and castles allotted to their residence; this province has not now a single asylum for that repudiated race. Ebn Haukal mentions that, so late as the tenth century, a remnant worshipped in the Gueber temples at Kazeroon, and we find that the same privilege was continued to others of the faith near the naptha-pits of Badku, a place superstitiously revered by all of the religion, as one of the most sacred fountains of their eternal fire. Pilgrims openly resorted thither even so late as the middle of the last century. But now if perchance any lonely little community of this utterly desolate people is found amongst the villages of Persia, if they wish to perform any of their religious rites, they must be done in the closest secrecy. Indeed, from the restraints and fear under which they have been held for so many generations, both the doctrines of their faith and the most solemn rites of their worship have sunk into nothing more than a few hasty prayers muttered to the sun as supreme God; and what they call commemorative ceremonies, are now only sad confused shadows of their former religious festivals; for the little that is left of the Mithratic creed amongst the remnant of its priesthood in Persia is so faintly comprehended, that all the flame of the sacred fire still kept burning at Yezd is insufficient to throw a gleam of any retraceable connection between their present vague belief and the once venerated faith of their ancestors."—*Porter's Travels*, II. p. 45, 46.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

The Ruins of Susa, (p. 191.)—The account of Sir R. K. Porter is as follows, (Travels, Vol. II. p. 411): "Susa or Shushan, was the capital of that part of ancient Elam which formed the kingdom or principality of Susiana under the government of Abradates, who was afterwards the friend and ally of Cyrus. On the death of that prince the Persian monarch became sole sovereign of Susiana; and we find that he shortly after preferred its capital for his winter residence before the old imperial towers of Babylon. The modern name of this province is Khuzistan, while that of the ruins is the same as before, being Shus or Shusan. Mr. Macdonald Kin-nier observes that Shus is a Pehlevi word signifying pleasant; and that when Shapoor, the conqueror of Valerian, erected his royal city on the banks of the Karoon (not fifty miles from this ancient capital), he called it Shuster, which means more pleasant. The remarks of that accurate observer, in his geography of Persia, are particularly interesting on this very head of Susa, and satisfactorily prove the conclusions he draws from the position of the ruins, &c., that on the long bounded track of Shus, we indeed find the remains of the once favourite capital of Cyrus; that we see the classic Chos-apses of Herodotus in the Kerrah, the waters of which were sacred to the lip of majesty alone; and in its neighbouring river the Abzal, we find the still more hallowed Eulæus or Ulai, which the scriptures describe as the scene of Daniel's

prophetic visions. "And it came to pass I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam ; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." Dan. viii. 2.

"The ruins of Susa in themselves present an appearance not at all unlike those of Babylon, being a succession of similar mounds covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, &c. and stretching over a space of country to the extent of ten or twelve miles. Of these mounds two stand pre-eminent and of enormous expanse ; one being in circumference a mile, and the other nearly two ; their height measures about 150 feet. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried bricks, and courses of burnt brick and mortar ; and stand not very far from the banks of the Kerrah or Kara-su ; from whose eastern shore the vestiges of this famous capital are yet traceable nearly to the banks of the Abzal, approaching the town of Desphoul. The people of the country distinguish these two great mounds by the names of ' the Castle' and the ' Palace,' and at the foot of the largest appears a little dome-like building under which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. A dervise resides there impressed with a belief of its peculiar sanctity, and who points to the grave of the inspired son of Judah with as much homage as if it belonged to one of his own most respected imauns. Though covered by this modern structure, no doubt is held by Jew, Arab, or Mussulman, of the great antiquity of the tomb beneath ; all having the same tradition that it indeed contains the remains of the prophet.

"The site of this once noble metropolis of the ancient princes of Elam, is now a mere wilderness, given up to beasts of prey ; no human being disputing their right, excepting the poor dervise who keeps watch over the tomb of the prophet. The friend to whom I am indebted for the outlines I subjoin, passed the night under the same protection, listening to the screams of hyenas, and the roaring of lions, wandering around its solitary walls. The venerable recluse showed him several

blocks of stone curiously sculptured, and of evident antiquity, two of which he sketched hastily, and allowing me to copy, also described them to me."

The Tomb of Daniel (p. 192—200).—The following is the tradition from the Persian MS. of Aasim of Cufah, as given by Sir William Ouseley. "In the 18th year of the Hegira, A. D. 640, whilst Omar was calif, an Arabian army, under Abou Mousa al Ashari, invaded Susiana. In the ancient capital Susa, (Sus), that general found, besides considerable treasures of various kinds, an extraordinary sepulchral monument, which, according to local tradition, contained the body of the prophet Daniel. Of this discovered monument, the most circumstantial account is given by Abou Mohammed Ahmed, whose father Aasim of Cufah, flourished so shortly after the conquest of Susiana that he might, when young, have conversed with several of the veteran warriors, whose valour had contributed to that event, for he died in A. D. 735, as we learn from Casiri. Ebn Aasim's book of victories, in the original Arabic, is a work very rare; but it was translated into Persian by Ahmed al Mastouzi, about the year 1200, A. D., and copies in this language are sufficiently numerous. I have extracted what relates to the tomb of Daniel. Abou Mousa having pillaged the territory of Ahwaz, proceeded to Susa, where he slew the governor or Persian Prince, named Shapour, the son of Azurmahan. Then he entered the castle and palace of that prince, and seized all the treasure there, deposited in different places, until he came to a certain chamber, the door of which was strongly fastened, a leaden seal being affixed to the lock. Abou Mousa inquired of the people of Sus what precious article was guarded with such care in this chamber. They assured him that he would not regard it as a desirable object of plunder; but his curiosity was roused, and he caused the lock to be broken, and the door to be opened. In the chamber he beheld a stone of considerable dimensions, hollowed out into the form of a coffin, and in that the body of a dead man,

wrapt in a shroud or winding sheet of gold brocade. The head was uncovered. Abou Mousa and his attendants were astonished, for having measured the nose, they found that, proportionally, he must have exceeded the common size of men. The people now informed Abou Mousa, that this was the body of an ancient sage who formerly lived in Irak, (Chaldea, or Babylonia) and that whenever the want of rain occasioned a famine or scarcity, the inhabitants applied to this holy man, and through the efficacy of his prayers obtained copious showers of rain from heaven. It happened afterwards that Sus* also suffered from excessive drought, and the people, in distress, requested that their neighbours would allow this venerable person to reside a few days among them, expecting to derive the blessing of rain from his intercession with the Almighty; but the Irakians would not grant this request. Fifty men then went, deputed by the people of Sus, who again petitioned the ruler of Irak, saying, 'Let the holy person visit our country and detain the fifty men until his return.' These terms were accepted, and the holy person came to Sus, where, through the influence of his prayers, rain fell in great abundance and saved the land from famine; but the people would not permit him to return, and the fifty men were detained as hostages in Irak. Such, said those who accompanied Abou Mousa, is the history of the dead man. The Arabian general then asked them, 'by what name this extraordinary personage had been honoured by them?' They replied, 'The people of Irak called him Daniel Hakim, or Daniel the Sage.' After this Abou Mousa remained some time in Sus, and despatched a messenger to Omar, the commander of the faithful, with an account of all his conquests in Khuzistan, and of the various treasures that had fallen into his possession. He related also the discovery of Daniel's body. When Omar had received this account, he demanded from his chief officers some information concerning Daniel,

* Shush seems to be the Persian orthography, Sus the Arabic, and Susan the Syrian.

but all were silent except Ali, on whom be the blessing of God! He declared that Daniel had been a prophet, though not of the highest order; that in ages long since he had dwelt with 'Bakht-al-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and the kings who had succeeded him; and Ali related the whole of Daniel's history from the beginning to the end. Omar then, by the advice of his counsellor Ali, caused letters to be directed to Abou Mousa, to remove, with due respect and veneration, the body of Daniel to some place where the people of Sus could no longer enjoy the possession of it. Abou Mousa immediately, on the receipt of this order, obliged the people of Sus to turn the stream which supplied them with water from its natural course. Then he brought forth the body of Daniel, and having wrapped it in another shroud of gold brocade, he commanded a grave to be made in the dry channel of the river, and therein deposited the venerable remains of the prophet. The grave was then firmly secured and covered with stones of considerable size; the river was restored to its wonted channel, and the waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel."

"The earliest notice of Daniel's Tomb published in Europe, seems to have been given by Benjamin Tudela, who visited Asia between the years 1160 and 1163. The account of his travels, (first printed in Hebrew, 1543,) has gone through several editions and translations into different languages. The tomb of Daniel is also mentioned by another Jewish traveller, whose Hebrew work, with a Latin version by Hottinger, appeared at Heidelberg in 1659, under the title of *Cippi Hebraici*. But in these notices we find a confusion of the Tigris with the Euphrates, and of Babylon with Susa. The local tradition which places Daniel's Tomb at Susa, appears to me worthy of investigation. Through the more modern authors of some Oriental works, mostly geographical I have pursued the tradition to Hamdallah Cazvini (of the fourteenth century,) and from him (through Rabbi Benjamin above named,) to Ebn Haukal, who travelled in the tenth.

[Vide his *Orient. Geog.* 76.] This is probably the oldest authority that printed books furnish on the subject."

The passage in Ebn Haukal referred to by *Sir William Onseley*, is to this effect :—"In the city of Sus, there is a river ; and I have heard that in the time of Abou Mousa Ashoari a coffin was found there ; and it is said the bones of Daniel the Prophet (on whom be peace !) were in that coffin. These the people held in great veneration, and in the time of distress or famine from droughts, they brought them out and prayed for rain. Abou Mousa Ashoari ordered this coffin to be brought, and three coverings or cases to be made for it ; the first, or outside one, of which was of boards exceedingly strong ; and caused to be buried, so that it could not be viewed. A bay or gulf of the river came over this grave, which may be seen by any one who dives to the bottom of the water."

Sir William Onseley, in *Walpole's Memoirs of the East*, (p. 422,) says, "I was finally driven by the heat to the Tomb of Daniel, or as he is called in the East, Danyall, which is situated in a most beautiful spot, washed by a clear running stream, and shaded by planes and other trees of ample foliage. The building is of Mahomedan date, and inhabited by a solitary Dervish, who shews the spot where the prophet is buried beneath a small and simple square brick mausoleum, said to be (without probability) coeval with his death. It has, however, neither date nor inscription to prove the truth or falsehood of the Dervish's assertion. The small river running at the foot of this building, which is called the Bellerau, it has been said flows immediately over the prophet's Tomb, and from the transparency of the water, his coffin was to be seen at the bottom ; but the Dervish and the natives whom I questioned, remembered no tradition corroborating such a fact ;—on the contrary, it has at all times been customary with the people of the country to resort hither on certain days of the month, when they offer up their prayers at the tomb I have mentioned, in supplication to the prophet's shade ; and by becoming his guests for the night, expect remission from all present grievances and an insurance

against those to come." Sir William Ouseley also delineates a remarkable stone preserved near the "Tomb of Daniel," amidst the ruins of Susa, which cover, according to Colonel Monteith, a space of sixteen or eighteen miles. This stone was at first not highly valued, but eventually the people subscribed nearly L. 1600, to be allowed to retain it as their talisman.

The following is *Abülfeda's* article on Sus, taken from his "*Tabulæ Iracæ, Chuzistânæ,*" &c. lately edited by Wüstenfeld (p. 26). *Es-Sus* est urbs Chuzistânæ, cui horti, ubi crescut mala medica digitum longa. Dicit in el-Moschtareko; est urbs antiqua in Chuzistân, in qua sepulchrum Danielis, cui sit pax!" Quoting from *Abul-Rikân*, he says, that in Persian it is written with pointed Sin, شوش Shush.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

The supposed Tomb of Cyrus (p. 206, 7.)—It has long been a *quæstio vexata* among geographers, whether Pasargādæ and Persepolis were really different places, or only different names for the same place. The former opinion has been maintained by a host of learned authorities, including *Cellarius* (in his *Geogr.*) *Salmasius* (in his *Exercitt. Plin.*), *Bochart* (in his *Phaleg.*), and more recently by *D'Anville*, *St. Croix*, *Rennel*, *Larcher*, &c. The latter opinion has the support of *Hoeck* (*Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum.*), *Sir William Ouseley* and others, who suppose that Persepolis is merely the Greek translation of the native name Pasargadæ. *Heeren* thinks Persepolis was an amplification of the original plan of the more ancient Pasargadæ, and in this has been followed by *Rosenmüller* in the present work.

The attention of scholars was eagerly revived to this subject on the publication of the first "Journey into Persia," of Mr. Morier (the well-known author of *Haji-Baba*), who proclaimed his discovery of the tomb of Cyrus in the plain of Mourgaub, about fifty miles from Persepolis; and as Arrian expressly mentions that Cyrus' tomb was at Pasargadæ, it would follow, on the supposition of the correctness of Morier's conjectures, that the long-sought for site of Pasargadæ had at length been found. See Morier's *First Journey*, p. 144. The building which he would identify with the tomb of Cyrus, is by the people of the country called *قبر مادر سليمان* *Kubr Maderi*

Suleiman, i. e. the tomb of the mother of Solomon. One of the most intelligent of the earlier European travellers, Mandelsloe, a Dutchman, who visited Persia in the year 1638, thus describes it in his day. "Being forced to travel twelve leagues, through the mountains covered with snow, and that in very bad weather, we, with much ado, very late at night, reached the large and famous village of Mesched Maderi-Suleiman, so called from a sepulchre which is within half a league of it. This sepulchre is to be seen within a little chapel of white marble, the tomb itself being erected upon a high square of free-stone, upon which you may go up by steps on all sides. The air and rain has penetrated through the walls in several places; and divers pillars round the structure are almost consumed by time. Upon the walls of the chapel, I found in Arabian characters these words, Mader Suleiman. The general opinion of the inhabitants is, that this is the sepulchre of Solomon's mother: but the Carmelite friars at Schiraz informed me with much more probability, that the Mother of Shah Soliman, the fourteenth king of the posterity of Ali, was interred here. Elmacinus gives her the name of Wallada, and informs us that she was the daughter of Abbas Abbaseam. He tells us that this Soliman lived in the year 715."

The following is the more recent and detailed description by *Sir Robert K. Porter* (*Travels*, Vol. I. p. 498), who adopts the conclusions of Morier. "This interesting monument stands on an eminence not far from the foot of the hills that bound the plain to the south-west. A wide area, marked outwardly by the broken shafts of twenty-four circular columns, surrounds the building in a square shape. Each column is three feet three inches in diameter. Six complete each face of the square, distant from each other fourteen feet. Seventeen columns are still erect, but heaped round with rubbish, and barbarously connected with a wall of mud. Within this area stands the tomb. The great base on which it rests, is composed of immense blocks of the most beautiful white marble rising in steps; at the bottom of the lowest step two sides of the base measure forty feet; the other two

sides forty-four. It first rises five feet six inches, so forming the lowest step. The second begins two feet interiorly from the extreme edge of the first, rising three feet six inches, and receding one foot ten inches, at which point the third step rises three feet four inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the fourth step rises one foot eleven inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the fifth rises one foot ten inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the sixth rises and recedes in the same proportion, touching the walls of the tomb which stands on its platform. Thus a succession of gigantic steps completes, in a beautiful pyramidal shape, the pedestal of this royal tomb, majestic in its simplicity and vastness. At the base of the lowest step, a projection or sort of skirting-stone runs all round the foundation of the building, almost even with the ground above, and not striking very deep into it below; probably what was the ancient level of the earth.

The charge of this interesting place is given to the females of a neighbouring village, and none but that sex are permitted to enter the supposed repository of the remains of the mother of Suleiman. Two of these fair guardians, who were rather stricken in years, attended me to the building, and were very impatient at the length of my investigations; however, I would not be satisfied till I saw the interior; and with much difficulty I persuaded them to admit me. The door opens into the north-western side of the tomb; the whole width of the side being sixteen feet ten inches, of which measurement the entrance dividing it occupied two feet ten inches. The height of the door was exactly four feet. Four layers of stones composed the elevation of this superstructure. The first gave the sides of the entrance; the second served as its lintel; the third presented a simple projecting cornice; and what may be called the fourth, formed its pediment and sloping roof. Just over the door are two ledges, which, from their parallel, I should suppose held an inscription. When I entered, I found that the thickness of the walls was one solid single mass of stone, measuring five feet from the outside to within. The extent of the chamber was seven feet wide, ten long, and

eight in height. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, which joined nearly in the middle of the chamber, crossing it from right to left. But I lament to say that immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured by the several invaders of this ancient tomb. The marble surfaces are cruelly broken; and in the floor particularly deep holes are left, which plainly shew where large iron fastenings have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building, similar depredation being marked in the marble of the wall. I searched everywhere for some trace of a cuneiform inscription, but in vain; the place where most likely such a one would have been, if any existed within the tomb, is on the right of the entrance, where it has probably been obliterated, to make room for the present open scroll in the Saracenic taste. It is composed of a narrow sort of border, thickly ornamented with flowers and other involvements; and interwoven with this intricate line of work there are certainly Arabic characters, which I do not doubt forms the inscription that has been read *Mader-i-Suleiman*. It would have been useless for me to attempt copying it in the little time allowed me; the letters being so confused amongst the ornaments; and the female sentinels without, from their fear of surprise, making an incessant clamour for my egress. The lines which contain this inscription extend along the whole of that side of the wall. Some future traveller, I hope, may be allowed to copy it, whose intimate knowledge of the language would facilitate the achievement; it being a task of skill, as well as patience, to disentangle Arabic characters from the labyrinth of their ornaments.

Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammers of the barbarians, interrupted the even polish of the three remaining sides.

The roof is flat, and nearly black; so are the sides of the chamber, excepting that which faces the door; and that with the floor is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of the monument; which, from the simplicity of its

form, and the solidity of its fabric, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature till the last shock, when her existence would be no more."

The opinion of Morier was favourably received by various German scholars, including the learned *Ritter* (in his *Erdkunde*, Part II. 85), and by Professor *Grotefend*, one of the most successful decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions. See his Supplement, No. V. to *Heeren's* work on Asia, Vol. I. Div. 1, p. 645. Grotefend interpreted an inscription at Mourgaub as signifying: "*Cyrus*, the king, ruler of the universe."

Saint Martin, however, has since endeavoured to shew, that it rather refers to Artaxerxes Ochus. He reads it thus:

Ada Houschousch Khschaehye Ouk-haabyschye.

Ochus, the Illustrious King.

See the *Journal Asiatique* for Feb. 1823. Other objections to Morier's views are drawn from the distance of the place from Persepolis, the comparatively modern style of the building, its difference from the one described by Arrian, &c. *Hoeck* thinks it the tomb of one of the Sassanian kings, the dynasty that ruled in Persia from the third to the middle of the seventh century. *Sir Wm. Ouseley* supposes a small square edifice, opposite the sculptured rock at Nakhshi Roustam, to have been the tomb of Cyrus. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

The Tomb of Darius Hystaspes (p. 209)—If the site of the tomb of Cyrus be still involved in obscurity, it is not so with respect to that of the greatest of his successors, Darius Hystaspes; for it has been proved, almost to demonstration, that he was buried in one of the great mountain sepulchres to be seen at Persepolis, the description of which by Sir R. K. Porter here follows: "The face of the mountain is almost a perpendicular cliff, continuing to an elevation of scarcely less than three hundred yards; the substance is a whitish kind of marble. In this have been cut the celebrated sculptures and excavations, so long the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist, and the antiquary. These singular relics of Persian greatness are placed very near each other, and are all

contained within the space of not quite the height of the mountain. Those highest on the rock are four; evidently intended for tombs, and as evidently of a date co-eval with the splendour of Persepolis. The range below vary in ability of execution; and are all in a very inferior taste to those above. These four sepulchres differ in no way exteriorly; hence we may suppose they vary as little within; and the description of one may generally describe them all. The one I examined consists of an excavation of about fourteen feet, cut into the solid rock, in a form something resembling a Greek cross. The upright division of it cannot be less than a hundred feet from end to end. The highest compartment is thickly sculptured with figures. The front of the tomb is ornamented by four round pilasters, distant from each other about seven feet, and as far from the caverned sides of the excavation. Their bases terminate by a toe on a plinth projecting from the face of the tomb one foot six inches. Their shafts are crowned by the double bulls I have before described; but a horn issues from the foreheads of these. Between the two centre pilasters is the entrance. The door frame is finely proportioned, with a curved projecting architrave nicely fluted, and divided into leaves. But the greater part of the apparent door is only marked like one; the entrance being confined to a square space of four feet six inches high in its lower compartment. The breadth in the rock, which the whole front occupies, is fifty-three feet.

The division above the front of the tomb is the excavation which contains the sculptured figures, and is cut in the way of a sort of frame inclosing them; the representation within consists of a double tier of fourteen figures, each in the style of caryatides, with their hands, raised over their heads, supporting two beautifully raised cornices. The figures are all habited the same in short tunics; some having their waist bound with a simple belt; and others with a dagger pending from it on the right hip; all are bare-headed, but the hair, being very bushy, has the appearance of a wig. These persons, with the cornice they support, form the face of a kind of elevated platform

something like our ancient table-tombs, but there is no comparison in the dimensions. Each side of the structure is finished by a pillar of very extraordinary shape. We may divide it into four parts; the base resembles an urn, on which rests the huge paw and limb of a lion descending from the columnar part of the pillar, which is fluted horizontally half-way up; and from its summit issues the head and shoulders of the unicorn bull, but without ornaments. The back of the neck unites it with the highest cornice, which forms the top of the structure, therefore the heads of the two bulls, which form the pillars at each end, rise higher than the plane they support.

On this plane stands a figure elevated on a pedestal of three steps. He is dressed in an ample robe flowing to his ankles; in his left-hand he holds a strong bow; his right-arm is stretched half out, with the hand quite open; bracelets are round the wrists, his head is bare, the hair bushy behind, and neatly curled, his beard falls to the breast. Opposite to him rises another pedestal of three steps; this is surmounted by an altar evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top, high over it to the right we see a globular shape, doubtless intended for the sun, of which the fire below was the object and the emblem. These altars always stood towards the east, that the worshipper might face the point whence the great source of light ascended; and we here find the orb in the same direction. Another figure floats aloft in the air, between the altar and the archimagus or high priest,^a (for such, it is probable, we may regard the man in the robe), appearing as if it had issued from the sun; it approaches the man from that point. This aerial personage, or rather perhaps divine intelligence, seems supported by something like a collection of sun-beams, thickly carved in waving, horizontal, and perpendicular lines interspersed with several divisions of narrow cloud-shaped masses of stone. The radiation is not circular, but forms three dis-

^a See the present Volume, p. 309, for Heeren's interpretation.

inct collections of rays, pointing east and west and downwards; they diverge from a ring or hole, out of the midst of which rises the figure, it being entirely above this "beamy chariot" from the waist upwards. It is habited in a robe similar to that of the man on the pedestal, with the hair and beard in the same fashion; but the head is covered with a fluted crown; the left-hand holds a large and massy ring; the right is elevated and open as if in the act of admonition; a couple of bands, apparently the ends of his girdle, flow down through the circle and beams in which the figure appears; thus proving the aerial texture of the seeming vehicle. But when we compare its forms and the workmanship of its details, and its position with regard to its occupier, with the wings and finely wrought feathers of the bas-relief at Pasargadae, we can be in no doubt, from the entire difference between them, that the radii we have been describing, form a means of passing through the air totally distinct from the personage that uses it.

I have mentioned that this monumental elevation, with its altar and other appendages, is comprised within a square frame of stone; on the four exterior surfaces, at the front and the sides, we find figures three deep, stationed one above the other; those to the right of the altar, with their faces towards the back of the man on the pedestal, are clothed in robes similar to his; and they have bonnets on their wig-like hair, resembling in shape the crown on the head of the spiritual being described, but with the difference of not being fluted; these persons are armed with spears, there are three of them in a perpendicular line on the front of the western aspect of the frame; and six rank and file on the side. In the opposite direction, on that part of the frame which is to the left of the altar in the front, is a perpendicular line three deep of figures, in precisely the same sort of dress as the spearmen, with the difference of these having no weapons whatever. These also look towards the altar and appear as mourners, their left-hands being raised to their faces, holding a part of their garments as if wiping away their tears. Another line of figures is sculptured on

the side of the frame, to which the three mourners are the front ; but here only one in three is in a weeping attitude.

“ Having fully examined the exterior of the tombs, my next object was to penetrate their interior, an attempt of no little danger, as well as fatigue. There were no other means by which a stranger to these heights could reach them, but by the expedient of tying a rope round the waist, and some strong arms above hauling him upwards. I immediately looked out for assistants. My mehmandar was at his stories and forebodings again, for tempting such demon-wrought places. But the peasantry of this district seemed to know better, than to have fear of either *deev* or difficulty, and one of them, more active and sinewy than the rest, managed to scramble up the perpendicular cliff, like a rat hanging by a wall, and, gaining the ledge of the platform or vestibule to the tomb, he lowered down a rope, by which some of his nimble companions assisted themselves in ascending. I followed the example, by fastening the rope round my waist, and by their united exertions, was speedily drawn up to the place of rendezvous. The distance was sufficiently high from the ground, to give me time for thought ; and during my ascent, in a manner so totally dependent on the dexterity of others, I could not but recollect the fate of half a dozen kinsmen of Darius Hystaspes, who had all perished at once in the very same expedition. On this very spot, more than two thousand years ago, the catastrophe happened. Certainly being in any noted place, has a most amazing power in bringing two far distant points of time to meet ; at least in the mind that contemplates them. I should have read the history of this disaster at home, with almost as little concern, as if the people had never existed ; here I was on the spot where it happened, and the scene was realized ; the persons seemed present with me, and I shuddered for them, while I rejoiced in my own safety. To incur the least possible danger to myself and my assistants, I had selected the tomb that was nearest the ground, but even that was upwards of sixty feet above its level ; and I came off with not a few bruises, from hard knocks against the rock in my swinging ascent.

Having gained the platform, I made my entrance into the tomb by the opening in the lower compartment of the door, and through a depth between the rocky walls of two feet. I then found myself in a vaulted chamber, completely blackened all over by smoke of some kind, either from lamps or other fires ; the place was stifling and gloomy ; at its further extremity were three arched recesses, which occupy the whole length of the chamber ; each contains a trough-like cavity cut down into the rock, and covered with a stone of corresponding dimensions. Every one of these covers has been broken near the corners, evidently to give a view to the person who committed the mischief, of what the sarcophagus might contain. I had a light introduced into the whole three, by which I saw the remotest cranny, and all were alike, perfectly empty, not even any loose dust that might have witnessed some former mouldered inhabitant. If these covers have, at any time, been removed, they have been very carefully replaced. The length of the cave which forms the whole tomb, is thirty-four feet, its height nine ; each catacomb containing the deepened cavity for the body, is also nine feet from the top of its arch, to the bottom of the cavity ; the length of the sarcophagus cavity, is eight feet three inches, by five feet ; its depth, four feet four inches ; the rest of the height being contained in the bend of the arch. The open space of the chamber, between the catacombs and the door, is about five feet. The entrance had originally been closed by a block or blocks of stone, the deep holes being visible on each side, which received their pivots. I observed some vestiges within, of the mode of hanging so ponderous a security ; but the avidity of the spoilers for lead and iron, has injured every part where the objects of their cupidity could be wrenched away. The surface of the door as it appears without, is divided into five compartments ; the lower one is entirely taken away, being now quite open to the air, with a small part also of the second division broken off, which probably happened when the passage was forced. When we look on these violences committed on the last rest-

ing places of the great, we cannot but be sensible, that the humblest graves are the securest." *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 521.

Genuineness of the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah, (p. 253).—According to the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiqq.* XI. 1, 2), the resolution of Cyrus to restore Jerusalem was prompted by his perusal of the Prophecies of Isaiah, which relate to himself in chap. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1.

In reference to this statement of Josephus, Rosenmüller thinks it enough to say, that in consequence of the researches of the last thirty-five years, it is now held to be established, that the second part of the Book of Isaiah (he means from chap. xl. inclusive, to the end), was not written by that prophet, but by some one who lived towards the end of the Babylonish exile. And, in proof of this, he refers to the arguments in the *proemium* to Vol. III. of his *Scholia on Isaiah*, 2d. Edit. and in *Gesenius Comment. on Isaiah*. Part II. p. 25, et seqq.

The opinion here alluded to, was first remotely hinted by *Koppe*, in the Notes to his German translation of Lowth on Isaiah, 1781. Being afterwards more broadly asserted by *Doederlein*, it was taken up and systematically defended by *Justi*, and has come to be so fixed a tenet in the creed of Neologians, that they speak of the *Pseudo-Isaiah*, with the same confidence as of the real one. Besides the German divines by whom this notion has been opposed, it was controverted by a Dutch writer, *Greve*, in his "*Ultima Capita Isaiaë*." Amst. 1810 ; and still more ably by the Dane, J. U. Möller, "*De Authentia oraculorum Iesaiæ*, chap. xl.—lxvi." Havnæ (Copenhag.) 1825. To review all the arguments would be foreign to our present purpose ; we merely give the answer to the objection which is drawn from the occurrence of the name of Cyrus, so long before his birth. Not having access to the original work of Möller, we shall exhibit the substance of his reply,* in the language of *Hengstenberg* in his "*Christology*

* The writer whom he chiefly combats, is Gesenius of Halle (in his *Transl. and Comment. of Isaiah*), who has been followed by *Hitzig* in his more recent work on that prophet. Heidelberg, 1833.

of the Old Testament." Comp. the Biblical Repository for 1831, p. 700, et seqq.

"But it is said, that if all other grounds of objection should signify nothing, still the mere mention of the name of Cyrus, chap. xlv. 28; xlv. 1, is a sufficient proof of spuriousness. The prophets are accustomed to describe the persons whose future appearance they announce by their qualities and characters; but never do they name their names."

We present, in answer to this objection, the following considerations. The name *Cyrus* is, with the greatest probability, an appellative, which was employed as the title of the Persian kings, just as Pharaoh was the title of the kings of Egypt, and Abimelech of the Philistine kings. In Greek writers,^a this name is everywhere explained by *the sun*, and

و س

this correctly; since even to the present day the word خور

in Persian signifies *the sun*.^b According to the accounts of Strabo, Agradatus, and according to Shickhard,^c Cyrus, before his accession to the throne, was called also by the surname کور; as was also a later Persian monarch Bahram.

When, therefore, Isaiah here predicts deliverance through *Koresh*, the prophecy is in no respect more definite than those of the first part (chap. xiii. 14, 21,) in which he foretells the destruction of the Babylonish monarchy by the Medes and Persians. That Cyrus afterwards usually bore this appellation, so that his own proper name was wholly superseded by it, took place in consequence of his great actions; he was called *κατ' ἑξέχην* the great king! Through the special guidance of Divine Providence, Isaiah was led to employ this name; which he might have learned from Persian merchants,

^a *Ctesias*, *Plutarch* in *Artaxerxes*, l.

^b Comp. *Gesenius*, s. voce. *Von Bohlen*, *Symbol. ad Interp. Sac. Cod. ex Lingua Persica*. p. 20. *Reland de Vet. Lingua Persar.* p. 163, sq. [and the present vol. p. 251.]

^c *Tarich*, p. 123. See *Gesenius*, l. c.

or, according to Hensler, from Medes who served in Sennacherib's army.^a

Against these considerations the opponents have no solid argument to produce. But even if we grant that the name *Koresh* was really a proper name, and that there could be no other prophecy adduced, in which a later person was mentioned by name, still even this would afford no proof of spuriousness. For who shall prescribe to Jehovah the rule which he shall follow in his revelations? who will say that he shall never do that, which ordinarily he does not do? Just as he ordinarily revealed the future to the prophets, without any determination of the time, but in occasional instances pointed out definitely the number of years which should pass away between the prophecy and its fulfilment; so might he also in a single instance reveal the name of a future person who was to have an important influence upon the destinies of his kingdom. The mere mention of a future name surely does not pass more widely beyond the bounds of nature, than does the previous annunciation of any historical circumstance whatever, as in chap. xlv. 27.

But further, the assertion of the opponents, that not a single analogous case can be produced, is by no means correct. We have the same case in 1 Kings xiii. 2. There, a prophet foretells to Jeroboam, who had built an idolatrous altar, that a son should be born to the house of David, who will bear the name of Josiah, and he will offer upon the altar the priests of the high places who burn incense thereon. If then the name of Josiah is there mentioned more than 300 years before his existence, how can it surprise us to find here the name of Cyrus about 150 years before his appearance? Should, however, the opposers here undertake to say that the name of Josiah in the book of Kings is the mere gloss of a later interpolator, the assertion would be wholly an arbitrary one. In this way no proof whatever could be brought against them. But then also they must give up their appeal here to

^a Hensler's *Jessias*, pp. 247, 363. *Jahn's Archaeol.* II. 2, p. 286.

the name of Cyrus. For what could they have to object, if we were to assert that the name of Cyrus in both these passages is also the gloss of a later interpolator? And although we are very far from doing this, still there would be in it nothing more arbitrary, than in the course which they thus take in regard to the Book of Kings, or in that by which they declare all the characteristic peculiarities which the second part has in common with the first, to be the work of a later assimilating hand."

The Identity of Xerxes with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, (p. 261.)—"The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the capricious despot, who repudiates his wife because she will not expose herself to the public gaze in a drunken festival; raises a favourite vizier to the highest honours one day, and hangs him the next; commands the massacre of a whole people, and then allows them, in self-defence, to commit a horrible carnage among his other subjects. Yet all this weak and headstrong violence agrees exactly with the character of that Xerxes, who commanded the sea to be scourged, because it brought down his bridge over the Hellespont; beheaded the engineers because their work was swept away by a storm; wantonly, and before the eyes of the father, put to death the sons of his oldest friend Pythias, who had contributed most splendidly to his expedition; shamefully misused the body of the brave Leonidas; and, after his defeat, like another Sardanapalus, gave himself up to such voluptuousness, as to issue an edict, offering a reward to the inventor of a new pleasure. The synchronisms remarked by Eichhorn, strongly confirm this view. In the *third* year of his reign Ahasuerus summons a divan of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his *third* year Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his *seventh* year (B. C. 479,) Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his *seventh* year Xerxes

returns discomfited to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. The imbecile facility with which Xerxes, according to Herodotus, first gave up to his seductive mistress Artyanta, a splendid robe, the present of his queen; and then having made a rash promise at a banquet, yielded up the wife of his brother Masistes (the mother of his mistress,) to the barbarous vengeance of his queen; so precisely resembles the conduct of Ahasuerus that it is impossible not to suspect we are reading of the same person in the Grecian and Hebrew annalist. The similarity of the names of Amestris, wife of Xerxes, and Esther is likewise observable." *Milman's History of the Jews*, Vol. II. p. 16. The points in the character of Xerxes, which present a counterpart to those described in the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, will be found illustrated in the following ancient authors: *Herodot.* VII. 7, 33-37; *Strabo*, XIV. 634; *Cicero*, *Tusc.* V. 7; *Justin*, II. 12; *Valer. Max.* IX. 1.

According to *Usher*, followed by *Calmet*, *Rollin*, &c., the royal husband of Esther was Darius Hystaspes; according to *Petavius*, *Prideaux*, *Hales* and others, it was Artaxerxes Longimanus; but the opinion above stated which identifies him with Xerxes, is now generally adopted, at least among continental scholars.^a It is as old as the days of *Scaliger* (*Emend. Tempor.* VI.), and has been supported by *Vitringa* in his *Hypotyp. Chronol.*, by *Eichhorn* and *Bertholdt* in their *Introductions to the Old Testament*, and specially by *Justi* in the monograph cited by Rosenmüller at p. 261.

The Etymology of "Satrap," (p. 268.)—This is the only Persian name or title, respecting the derivation of which Rosenmüller is silent. The word ستراب says he, does occur in Persian Dictionaries, but, it is marked "obsolete." Sir John Malcolm thinks he has discovered the etymology

^a *Kelle* is an exception, in his *Vindic. Esth.* Freiberg, 1820. He believes Ahasuerus to have been the same with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

in "*Chattrapati*," i. e. *Lord of the umbrella*, which is still the title of one of the highest officers of state among the *Mahrattas*. "*Chattra*" signifies an umbrella both in Sanscrit and Persic, and "*pa*" (a contraction of "*pati*") though lost in the modern Persic, is preserved in Sanscrit in the sense of "*Lord*." Now, the right to bear the umbrella (or rather the parasol) is a well-known distinction of dignity and mark of authority throughout the East. That it anciently prevailed in Persia is manifest from the Persepolitan sculptures representing royalty, where that sort of shade is uniformly held over the king. Comp. Ps. cxxi. 5. "*The umbrella*," says Ali Bey, "is a distinguishing sign of the sovereign of Morocco. Nobody but himself, his sons, and his brothers, dare make use of it." It is, or once was, a title of the king of Ava, "*Lord of the twenty-four umbrellas*." China and Turkey seem to be the only eastern countries where it has descended to the common people; but in the latter, every one is still obliged to lower his umbrella on passing the residence of the Sultan. As to the south of Arabia, Niebuhr gives the following account of a solemn procession of the Imam, who then resided at Sana, and was considered as a holy personage, being descended from Mohammed. "It is well known that the Sultan at Constantinople goes every Friday to the mosque, if his health will at all admit of it. The Imam of Sana observes also this religious practice with vast pomp. We only saw him in his return, because this was represented to us as the most curious part of the solemnity, on account of the long circuit he then takes, and the great number of his attendants. The Imam was preceded by some hundreds of soldiers. He, and each of the princes of his numerous family, caused a *Medalla*, or large umbrella, to be carried by his side, and it is a privilege which in this country is appropriated to princes of the blood, just as the Sultan of Constantinople permits none but his vizier to have his *Haik*, or gondola, covered behind to keep him from the heat of the sun. They say that in the other provinces of Yemen, the indepen-

dent lords, such for example, as the sheiks of Jafā, and of Hashid-n-Bekil, the scherife of Abu-Arish and others, cause their *Medallas* in like manner to be carried in their use, as a mark of their independence." Travels, Vol. p. 410 of the English Translation.

END OF VOL. I.

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THE
BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
CENTRAL ASIA:

WITH

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SACRED
GEOGRAPHY, INCLUDING THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD.

BY THE LATE

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY THE

REV. N. MORREN, A. M.

WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

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CHAPTER VIII.

BABYLONIA AND CHALDÆA.

ANCIENT Babylonia,¹ the modern Babylonian or Arabian Irak,² constituting the pashalic of Bagdad, comprises that tract of country inclosed between the Euphrates and Tigris, which is bounded on the north by Mesopotamia and Assyria, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. That gulf was the only fixed and natural limit of ancient Babylonia. Towards the north, or Mesopotamia and Assyria; towards the east, or Persia [Farsistan] and Susiana; and towards the west, or Arabia Petræa and Deserta, the boundaries were less clearly defined. It is certain, however, that both in former and later times, tracts more or less extensive on the east bank of the Tigris, and the west bank of the Euphrates, and on both sides of the united stream of those rivers (called by the ancients Pasitigris, by the

moderns Shat-el-Arab) have been reckoned to belong to Babylonia, or Irak-el-Arab.

The south-western part of Babylonia lying towards Arabia Deserta, is termed by Jeremiah (chap. xxiv. 5; xxv. 12; l. 8), and by Ezekiel (chap. xii. 13; xxi. 27), *the land of the Chaldæans*, or *Chaldæa*;³ not that it was the original seat of that people, but, as we shall afterwards see, a colony of them was transplanted thither by the Assyrians. Commonly, however, the names Chaldæa and Babylonia are used interchangeably, inasmuch as at an after period, the Chaldæans came into possession of the whole country. The oldest name of the region is *Shinhar* or *Shingar*,⁴ (generally pronounced *Shinar*.^a) For in Gen. x. 10, it is said, that Nimrod built, besides certain other towns, Babel, “in the land of Shinar,” where that city is also described as situated in Gen. xi. 2, 4. According to Dan. i. 1, 2, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, caused the vessels of the temple of Jerusalem to be carried away to the temple of his own god, “in the land of Shinar.” When Isaiah, in the title of a prophecy, foretelling the overthrow of this kingdom, (chap. xxi. 1) styles it “the desert or plain of the sea,”⁵ his language is to be regarded as a poetical or symbolical delineation of Babylon, drawn probably from the circumstance, that previously to the construction of dams by Semiramis, the plain on which lay the metropolis, became, at the perio-

^a By the Germans called *Sinear*.—M.

dical overflowing of the Euphrates, a vast sheet of water like a sea, whence the whole country came to be designated by that name.⁶

Babylonia is one extensive plain,⁷ unbroken by a single hill. The soil consists of a brown, rich loam, and receives the yearly inundations of the two rivers which traverse the country,⁸ the Euphrates on the west, and the Tigris on the east, but more especially the former, its banks being lower and flatter than those of the Tigris. These copious floods compelled the earlier inhabitants to lead off the accumulating waters, and so diffuse them over the whole country, that the more arid tracts were irrigated and fertilized. Hence, the whole of Babylonia became intersected by a number of larger and smaller canals, some of which crossed the country in its entire breadth from one river to the other, while others were gradually lost in the interior.⁹ These canals seem to be intended in Ps. cxxxvii: 1, by "the rivers of Babel."¹⁰ The most considerable of them were—the king's river (*Nahar Malca*,¹¹) which was navigable, and being led off from the Euphrates, ran into the Tigris far to the south-east; the *Pallacopas*, another branch of the Euphrates, eight hundred stadia southwest of Babylon, which fell into a lake it had formed on the borders of Arabia;¹² and the *Maarsares*, likewise an artificial outlet to the Euphrates, which, after running parallel to that river

for a considerable distance, again rejoined it.¹³ Of one or other of the two last-mentioned canals, which went from the Euphrates westward towards Arabia, the remains are thought still to exist in the dry channel of the Djari-Zaad,¹⁴ which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, was in ancient times lined with rows of trees, and sent forth a number of branches to water and fructify the surrounding country. Perhaps this is the river Sud,¹⁵ mentioned in the apocryphal book of Baruch (chap. i. 4), upon which was a settlement of the Jews, who had been transported to Babylonia. Besides the great number of canals, of which no trace can be now found, there were several large lakes, which were partly formed by art, and partly by the inundations of the two great rivers. The largest of them is described by Herodotus,^{16a} as the work of Queen Nitocris. It lay in the north of the country, at a considerable distance above the metropolis, and was from forty to fifty miles^a in circuit. The bitumen with which the district abounds, served for the construction of the dams on the river; but this lake was surrounded with a stone wall. About ninety miles below Babylon, on the west bank of the Euphrates, there were low marshy tracts,^{16b} which extended far into the Desert of Arabia. Babylonia might therefore be regarded as a well-watered region, and Jeremiah might correctly

^a Herodotus has "420 stadia."—M.

say of it (chap. li. 13,) that *it lay upon many and great waters.*¹⁷

Notwithstanding the excessive heat which reigns in the country during the greater part of the year, and which compels the inhabitants of the towns to betake themselves, at mid-day, to the deep vaults in their houses, called *serdāps*,¹⁸ the air is, upon the whole, pure and salubrious, except in the south, around Basra [Bassora] at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, where morasses vitiate the atmosphere with their noxious effluvia, and epidemic pestilences often rage with destructive fury.¹⁹ “Rain,” says *Olivier*,²⁰ “seldom falls, even in winter, and the sky is almost always clear. In summer the atmosphere is so pure, that at a very short distance from the rivers neither damp nor dew can be detected; and were the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris confined within their channels, or led off by canals; and were means taken to prevent the accumulation of swamps and pools, there would be no country on the earth healthier or pleasanter, more fertile or more flourishing.” Such was in fact its ancient condition at the time when Herodotus wrote, about five hundred years before the Christian era. The land was then intersected by innumerable canals, which gradually diminished in size, until they dwindled into rivulets; and along their course were a number of machines for raising the water, and spreading it over the

soil.^a The industry of man was rewarded with the most luxuriant fertility. "Of all the countries," says Herodotus,²¹ "with which I am acquainted, Babylon is by far the most fruitful in corn, for the soil generally yields two hundred fold; and in seasons unusually favourable, three hundred fold. The ear of their wheat and barley is four digits broad; but to how great a size the stalks of the *cenchrus*, (a kind of millet or buck-wheat) and the *sesamum*,^b grow, I shall not mention, for I am sure that none but they who have been themselves at Babylon, would give credit to the account." On the other hand, the country was entirely destitute of lofty trees, and produced no figs, olives, nor grapes. But it was rich in palm-trees, whose fruit (the date), not only served for food, but yielded wine and honey. The want of stones and of wood fit for building, was well supplied by nature. There was found around Babylon an inexhaustible store of the best brick-clay, which, when dried in the sun, or burned in an oven, attained a strength and durability, that is even yet attested by the remains of ancient buildings, which, though so long since abandoned by men, have resisted the influence of the atmos-

^a See *Captain Chesney's Report*, in the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 280.—M.

^b The *Cenchrus* is the *Panicum Millaceum*. The *Sesamum* is thought by some to be the *Sesamum Orientale* of Linnaeus, by others the *Sesamum Indicum*.—M.

phere for many centuries.²² The very mortar for cement had likewise been provided by nature. At the distance of eight days' journey above Babylon, there was a small river *Is*, with a town of the same name, where were copious springs of *naphtha* or bituminous pitch, which was used instead of lime for cement,²³ its binding property being improved by layers of reeds or rushes. This mode of building described by Herodotus, is still to be seen in the existing remains of Babylon; and, according to the testimony of recent^a eye-witnesses, the layers of rushes and palm-leaves continue to this day uninjured by the lapse of time.²⁴

The cities and other places of ancient Babylonia, mentioned in Scripture, are :

1. *Babel*, the capital of the kingdom (in Jer. l. 12, described as the mother, *i. e.* the *metropolis* of Chaldæa), by the Greeks and Romans called Babylon. It is also in Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41, designated by *Sheshach*,²⁵ a word which probably signifies the *royal court* or *city of the king*. According to the narrative in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, Babel received its name from the confusion of tongues,²⁶ which followed on the im-

^a *Mignan*, however, thinks that in some cases, the white layer which has been taken for the course of the reeds, is nothing more than common earth, which has undergone this change, by the influence of the air on the clay composing the bricks. Travels in Chaldæa, p. 222.—M.

pious attempt that was there made to build a tower whose top should reach to heaven.²⁷ The traditions of Central and Western Asia, in like manner, carry back the foundation of Babel to the earliest period of antiquity, when men first began to form themselves into society. And in the extant remains of Assyrian historians, as well as in the collection of ancient Asiatic legends, called the Sybilline Oracles, an account is given of the building of the Tower of Babel, not very dissimilar from that of Moses.²⁸ The Assyrian tradition, preserved by Ctesias,²⁹ ascribes the foundation of Babylon to Semiramis the wife of Ninus; the later Chaldee account, which is to be found in the fragments of Megasthenes and Berosus (contained in the writings of Eusebius³⁰ and Josephus³¹) represents Nebuchadnezzar as the founder. The two narratives are easily reconcileable, on the supposition, that Nebuchadnezzar³² enlarged and fortified the city, which had been founded by Semiramis, or perhaps long before that queen's reign. Herodotus,³³ who visited Babylon about four centuries and a-half before the Christian æra, gives the following general description of it. "It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square; each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty furlongs;

* I have adopted *Belee's* Translation, Vol. I. p. 178, et seqq. — M.

the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water; the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high and fifty wide. It will not be foreign to my purpose to describe the use to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks.* Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner, on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch towers of one storey, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a

* *Mignan* says (*Trav.* p. 268), this passage is better rendered in the Latin translation of *Laing's* edition of *Wesseling's* *Herodotus*, and more conformable with the mode of cement preserved to this day. "Postea pro cœno vel calce utentes bitumine ferventi et per tricesimas latericias compages constipantes crates arundinum," &c.—*M.*

chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass,³⁴ whose hinges and frames were of the same metal.

“ The great river Euphrates divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.³⁵ The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space, surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple^a of Jupiter³⁶ Belus occupies the other, whose huge gates of

^a “ It is necessary to bear in mind, that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, sometimes apartments for the priests; and lastly, the temple, properly so called, and where, most frequently, it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole

brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong;³⁷ upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession.³⁸ The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldean priests affirm that their deity selects, from the whole nation, as the object of his pleasures. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. In this temple there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated, by the Chaldeans, to be worth eight

inclosure was named τὸ ἱερόν: the temple, properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called ναὸς, or the cell. It is obvious that this last is the place particularly alluded to."—*Larcher's Herodotus*. Note in loc.—M.

hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel there are two altars ; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full grown animals ; those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold."

The famous *hanging gardens* were likewise in the interior of the city, probably in the eastern quarter, and were reckoned among the seven wonders of the ancient world. They consisted of four terraces, raised on a wall twenty-two feet thick, and forming a regular square, each of whose sides was four hundred feet in length. The interior rested on strong vaults, supported by massy pillars.

[The following is the more detailed description given by Diodorus Siculus :^a " This hanging garden, near the citadel, was not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtesan, who being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the lands in Persia. The ascent up to this garden was as to the top of a mountain, and it had buildings and apartments out of one into another like unto a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent were built arches, one above another, rising gently by degrees,

^a Booth's Translation, Vol. I. p. 108.

which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch, upon which the platform of the garden was laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being two and twenty feet thick, and every sally-port ten feet wide; over the several stories of this fabric were laid beams and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone; then upon them were laid double tiles, pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them, after all, was a covering with sheets of lead, that the wet, which drenched through the earth, might not rot the foundation. Upon all these was laid earth of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the largest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which, both for greatness and beauty, might delight the spectators. The arches (which stood one above another, and by that means darted light sufficient one into another) had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river through certain conduits and conveyances

from the platform of the garden, and nobody was the wiser or knew what was done."^{39 a}]

Under Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon reached the height of magnificence and grandeur. It was the metropolis of the then civilized world; and through the united influence of conquests and commerce, there flowed into it the riches of almost all known lands. With perfect correctness, therefore, is it styled in the Old Testament, BABYLON THE GREAT, (Jer. li. 58.^b Dan. iv. 30) *the world-renowned*, (Jer. li. 41) *the proud ornament of the Chaldeans*, (Isa. xiii. 19); but with no less truth is it also designated *the luxurious and wanton*, (Isa. xlvii. 1, 8,)—one of the consequences of its great wealth and prosperity having been the corruption of the morals of

^a Heeren does not think that these particulars, so accurately given, could have been taken from Ctesias; but were, perhaps, borrowed from Megasthenes, who, according to Josephus, had described the works of Nebuchadnezzar. The earth, in these gardens, is said to have been of sufficient depth for trees 15 feet high. "Among the ruins stands a solitary tree, of a species altogether unknown in the country. It bears every mark of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn away and shattered by time—probably the last descendant of those hanging gardens."—M.

^b I presume the author cites this passage, on the supposition that הר הרחב, "the broad one," refers to the city itself; and that is the Chald. Vers. But it agrees better with the parallelism of members to translate, (and so our authorized Vers. Blayney, Dathe, &c.)

The wall of Babylon, *even* the broad one, shall be razed to the ground, And her gates, *even* the lofty ones, shall be burned with fire.—M.

the inhabitants to the lowest state of debasement.⁴⁰ As capital of that empire, in which the worship of the heavenly bodies became the most impure and brutalising,⁴¹ its name is used in the Revelation of St. John, (ch. xiv. 8 ; xvi. 19 ; xvii. 5 ; xviii. 10,) to denote Rome, the seat and centre of heathenism.*

But Babylon did not long continue the splendid metropolis of the world ; for, so early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar's grandson, Nabonid, or as he is called in Scripture, Belshazzar, it was taken by Cyrus.⁴² It immediately lost its former importance, by ceasing to be the capital of an independent kingdom, Cyrus having fixed his residence at Susa. He caused the outer walls to be demolished,⁴³ as the city appeared to him too strongly fortified, and he feared lest the inhabitants might rise in revolt. This, in fact, actually happened under the reign of Darius Hystaspes, who, after he had made himself again master of the town, removed the gates, and reduced the wall to the height of fifty ells.⁴⁴ According to Strabo,⁴⁵ Xerxes endeavoured to raze to the ground the temple of Belus. The same writer mentions, that under the dominion of the Persians, and the successors of Alexander the Great, Babylon continued to sink gradually

* This is, of course, mere matter of opinion ; and it is well known, that many expositors find *another Rome*, there portrayed, under the image of Babylon the Great.—M.

into decay; especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris, only 300 stadia from Babylon, and chosen it for his royal abode. A great part of the population of Babylon emigrated thither; and in the time of Strabo, (that is, in the age of the Emperor Augustus) Babylon was so deserted, that he applies to that city what an ancient poet had said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, viz. that it was "one vast wilderness." Diodorus Siculus,⁴⁶ who lived in the same century, says, there was then only a small part of the town inhabited; and in the time of Pausanias, in the first half of the second century, nothing of Babylon remained but the walls.⁴⁷ We nevertheless find, in the second half of the fourth,⁴⁸ and even at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mention made of a village on the site of the former Babel, and called by the same name.⁴⁹ The remains of ancient Babylon were first made correctly known to Europeans, by the Italian traveller, Della Valle, who was there in the month of November, of the year 1616, and has left a description of its appearance.⁵⁰ After him, it remained long unvisited by Europeans, until, in more recent times, we received accounts of it through *Niebuhr* and *Beauchamp*. But our principal information regarding its present condition, has been furnished by *Rich* and *Ker Porter*, who have carefully examined and accurately described the ruins.⁵¹

These remains of the ancient metropolis of the world, which are mere ruinous heaps of bricks and rubbish,⁵² lie directly south of Bagdad, on the road to Hillah, which is about fifty miles distant from the former city. The ruins commence at Mohawil-Khan, and extend thence nine or ten miles southward to Hillah. The greater part are found on the east bank of the Euphrates. The plain, on which they stand, forms a large triangle, the river being the base, and the two long earthen walls (marked on the plan B B B B) the sides. The upper or easternmost part of this triangle is intersected by the two parallel ramparts F and D E running from north to south. Within the eastern section, thus cut off, (at whose pointed extremity is an opening as of an entrance) no ruins are met with; it is a piece of marsh land under partial cultivation. But the inner space in the lower part of the great triangle, intervening between the ramparts F and D E, and the walled-in river bank, is covered with mounds and heaps of ruins. Among these there are three immense masses or groups of building, which rise up to view in gigantic grandeur.

The most northerly mass, which is the first that comes in sight on the road from Bagdad, is called by the Arabic name of *Mukallibé*, *Mujellibé*, or *Makluba*,⁵³ i. e. the overturned.* It is marked A

* The idea seems to correspond to the English idiom, "being thrown topsy-turvy," or into a confused heap.—M.

upon the plan. According to Ker Porter it is, with the exception of the Birs Nimroud, the most enormous pile of bricks ever reared by the hand of man. It is an oblong square, whose sides face the four cardinal points. The height is at present 140 feet, the top presenting a flat uneven surface. On all the sides are to be seen layers of bricks, cemented with chopped straw, reeds, and bitumen. There are in the mound many deep ravines, formed partly by the long influence of the atmosphere, partly by the excavations of the Turks in search of hid treasures. Yet regularly-built subterraneous vaults are also to be seen, in some of which have been discovered *sarcophagi* (containing human skeletons,) earthen vessels, and burnt bricks, with cuneiform inscriptions. This colossal mass is surrounded on the east, north, and partly on the west side, by an earthen wall, which forms the end of the northern line of the triangle we have described as inclosing the entire ruins. *Della Valle* and *Beauchamp* thought they saw in the Mujellibé the remains of the temple of Belus.* But this opinion has been opposed, on very strong grounds, by *Ker Porter*,⁵⁴ who endeavours to

* This opinion was adopted by D'Anville and Major Rennell, and has been revived by Mignan; but the superior claims of the *Birs Nimroud* to be considered identical with the famous Tower of Babylon, were first hinted at by Niebuhr, and are now admitted almost universally. Mignan's measurement of the Mujellibé gave the following result: The north side 274 yards, the south 256, the east 226, the west 240.—M.

shew that these are the ruins of the fortified royal palace, which is spoken of by several ancient writers.⁵⁵ Against this supposition, however, lies the objection, that the mound is situated beyond the bounds of the city proper (which are marked by the walls C and D), and likewise too far from the river, since, according to the ancient descriptions, the palace was divided into two parts by the Euphrates. These ruins, therefore, seem rather to have belonged to a citadel, which commanded and covered the long line of circumvallation B B.

The ruins of that part of the royal palace which lay on the east bank of the river, are probably to be recognized in the *second* great heap which is within the inner wall, and still bears the name of *Al Kasr*,⁵⁶ i. e. the palace. It is marked K in the plan, and forms nearly a square of 2100 feet on each side. Every vestige shews it to have been composed of buildings, far superior to all others upon the east side of the river of which there are any remains. The bricks are of the finest description ; and though this seems to be the place whence they have been taken away in the greatest quantities, a vast store is still to be found. But as the depredators have excavated the mass in every direction, and converted much of it into heaps of rubbish, the original appearance and extent of the edifice can no longer be ascertained. The walls are every where of fire-burnt bricks, ce-

mented with the best lime mortar ; and among the ruins there are fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and a great many tiles covered with a variegated polish, the colouring of which is surprisingly fresh. In a cavity at the south side, Rich found an earthen funereal urn with human bones lying near, which, when touched, immediately crumbled into dust. A little to the north of this, Beauchamp discovered a stone figure standing out from the earth, which the Arabs supposed to be an idolatrous image. To ascertain the point more correctly, Rich employed a number of labourers, who, after digging round it a whole day, brought out to view the colossal statue of a lion, on a pedestal of coarse grey granite, and clumsily executed. In the mouth is a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist.* On the north side of the Kasr, where Ker Porter thought he saw traces of the hanging gardens, there stands upon an artificial eminence, a tree, to which the Arabs give the name of *Athēla*.⁵⁷ This species of tree is altogether foreign to the country. Two of the attendants of Ker Porter, who were natives of Bender-Bushire, assured him that there are trees of that kind in their country, which attain a very great age, and are called *Gaz*. The one in

* It appears from Mignan's account (Trav. p. 186) that since the visit of Rich, the head of the lion has been knocked off.—M.

question is in appearance like the weeping-willow, but the trunk is hollow through age, and partly shattered. The Arabs venerate it as sacred, in consequence of the Calif Ali having reposed under its shade after the battle of Hillah.* Ker Porter found here a large cylinder of burnt clay, with a cuneiform inscription, a neatly wrought seal of agate, on which was the figure of a priest with various symbols of the Sabeian worship, and a dog in bronze three inches high, with a collar of fine gold.

Separated from the mound of *Al-Kasr*, by a space of about 800 ells (marked L), there lies to the south the third group of ruins called the *Amran-Hill*, (M). The intervening ground is intersected by a long row of low heaps running from east to west. At the west end it meets a higher ridge, which reaches from the south-west corner of the Kasr to the north-western corner of Amran-Hill. The low grounds are covered with high grass, the soil being moist and swampy. The hill of Amran is as high as the Kasr, and of far greater magnitude. It has the form of a triangle, whose south-west side measures 1400 ells, the east 1100, and the north 850. The whole of this stupendous mass is deeply furrowed and excavated; and as all the bricks have been carried away which could be detached, the foot sinks at every step

* See the foot-note a, at p. 14.

into loose dust and rubbish. On the highest point of the south-western extremity stands the tomb of Amran, a Mahommedan saint, in which a Shiah-Seid (a devotee of the sect of Ali) has taken up his abode.

[“Amran, the natives say, was a son of Ali. The keeper of this tomb may be likened to Job’s forsaken man, dwelling in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps (chap. xv. 28). A hundred yards to the east-south-east of this building there is a solid block of white marble, measuring six feet long, three wide, and three and a-half inches thick; but no writing, device, or bitumen is to be traced upon it. To the westward of this (NN) the ground is flat, without any marks of building, and is bounded by the river’s embankment. A little below there is a ridge of mounds (PP), extending from a date-grove, on the verge of the stream, to the south-west of a village called Jumjuma, which appellative means a skull, and likewise, according to Castell and Golius, “*Puteus in loco salsuginoso fossus.*” The mounds then stretch towards the remains of a tomb of the same name, form a right angle behind it, taking an easterly course, when they are traversed by the Bagdad road.*]

On the opposite western bank of the river

* To render the description more complete, the above extract is taken from *Mignan’s Travels*. (1829), p. 200.—M.

(which Ker Porter was the first to explore with care), there are several low mounds, and remains of former buildings, which begin below the village of Ananah, and extend for the space of six or seven miles to the colossal ruin, known by the name of *Birs Nimroud*,* i. e. the tower of Nimrod. Viewed on the east side, it has the appearance of an oblong hill, which rises in a broad pyramidal form. The base is 2082 feet^b in circuit. [“ At the eastern side it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high, but on the western side, it rises in a conical figure to the elevation of 198 feet, and on its summit is a solid pile of brick, 37 feet high, by 28 in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure, extending through a third of its height. It is perforated by small square holes, disposed in rhomboids. The fire-burnt bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them; and so excellent is the cement, which appears to be lime mortar, that it is nearly impossible to extract one whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill, are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and connected into solid vitrified masses, as if they had under-

* In Arabic characters *برز نمرود* Bîrz-Nimrûd.—M.

^b This is Porter's measurement. Rich says 2286; Mignan 2166.—M.

gone the action of the fiercest fire, or had been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of brick being perfectly discernible.”.]

[“ Its present height, reckoning to the bottom of the tower which stands on the summit, is two hundred feet, the tower itself being thirty-five. Looking at it from the west, the entire mass rises at once from the plain, in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. It is composed of fine bricks, kiln-baked. From the western side, two of its stories may be distinctly seen ; the first is about sixty feet high, cloven in the middle by deep ravines. The tower-like looking ruin on the top, is a solid mass, twenty-eight feet wide, of the most beautiful masonry ; to all appearance it formed an angle of some square building, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the eastern side. The cement which connects the bricks is so hard, that Ker Porter found it impossible to chip off the smallest piece ;^a and for this reason, none of the inscriptions can be copied, as they are always on the lower surface of the bricks. It is rent from the top nearly half-way to the bottom ; and at its foot lie several unshapen masses of fine brick-work, still bearing traces of a violent fire, which has given them a vitrified appearance, whence it has been conjectured^b that it has been struck by light-

^a *Rich's Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, p. 36.—M.

^b Porter has a number of observations which strikingly com-

ning. The appearance of the hill on the eastern side, evidently shews that this enormous mass has been reduced more than one-half. Only three stories out of the eight which it formerly contained, can now be discerned. Yet the appearance of the Tower of Nimrod is sublime, even in its ruins. Clouds play around its summit; its recesses are inhabited by lions, three being quietly basking on the heights when Porter approached it, and, scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus have the words of the prophet been fulfilled (Isa. xiii. 20, 21):

“ Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there ;
Owls shall fill their houses ;
Ostriches shall dwell there ;
And Satyrs shall dance there.
Jackals shall howl in their palaces,
And wild dogs in their pleasant places.”^a

firm this conjecture, shewing that the intense vitrifying heat, of which there are so many traces, could only have proceeded from the electric fluid. We are naturally led to connect these appearances with the tradition of the Tower of Babel having been overthrown by fire from heaven. Porter supposes that the works of the heathen monarchs may have long concealed these marks of heaven's anger, but that the successive devastations of man, and the gradual effects of age, have reduced the building to something of the appearance it first presented after the confusion of tongues. At all events, it is now what Jeremiah had so emphatically predicted (ch. li. 25),
“ *a burnt mountain.*”—M.

^a *Heeren*, chiefly after Ker Porter.—M.

The conjecture of Niebuhr,⁵⁹ that this ruin is a remnant of the Tower of Belus formerly described (at p. 10), has been placed nearly beyond a doubt, by the accurate researches of Rich and Porter.⁶⁰

[“ An open quadrangular area extends for a considerable distance around the Birs, though its base is encircled by small ridges of mounded earth. I must not, however, pass unnoticed, one immense hill, scarcely a hundred yards distant from the eastern front of this stupendous fabric. It stretches away north and south, to a breadth of 450 yards, when its extreme points curve and meet to the eastward, after having occupied a space of 650 yards. Its height is fifty-five feet. This mound is also very deeply furrowed into countless channels, covered with nearly the usual *debris* of former building, except that the fragments of vases and glazed pottery, are inconceivably fresh and abundant.^a On its summit is a Mahommedan building, called Koubbé, generally pronounced *Goubbah*, meaning in Arabic, a cupola or dome. It goes by the name of Makam Ibrahim Khalil.^b The

^a On the supposition of the Birs Nimroud having been the Tower of Belus, these buildings may have been the residence of the priests and officers of the temple.—M.

^b The common name for Abraham throughout the east, is Ibrahim el Nabi, i. e. Abraham the prophet, or Ibrahim Khalil Allah, i. e. Abraham the friend of God. See D'Herbelot under “ Ibrahim.”—M.

Arabs say, that Nimrod ordered a fire to be kindled near it, and commanded Abraham to be cast into it; while “the mighty hunter” viewed the frightful exhibition from the summit of his tower. The ruined portion of another Koubbé, stands a little to the south, called, *Makam Saheb Zeman*, to which also several curious traditions are attached.*]

The other places in Babylonia mentioned in the Old Testament are :

2. *Dura*,⁶¹—the great plain around Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar caused the golden image to be erected, which all his subjects were commanded to worship. Dan. iii. 1.⁶²

3. *Erech*,⁶³ is mentioned in Gen. x. 10, among the cities which Nimrod founded in the land of Shinar. It is a very ancient opinion⁶⁴ that this was that city of Mesopotamia, which was afterwards called by the Greeks, *Edessa*⁶⁵ and *Callirhoe*.⁶⁶ But there is no certain evidence that Erech or Arach had ever been an ancient name of Edessa.⁶⁷ And that the latter is the city spoken of in Genesis, is justly questioned both by Bochart⁶⁸ and Bredow,⁶⁹ on the ground that it lay too far north of Babylon, to-

* *Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa*, p. 211—213. Around the tower and adjoining buildings, there was a strong quadrangular inclosure, the remains of which are in tolerable preservation.—M.

wards Armenia—whither the land of Shinar certainly did not extend. Bochart, therefore, supposes that Erech was Aracca or Arecha, on the Tigris, upon the borders of Babylonia and Susiana,⁷⁰ and probably the same city which Herodotus⁷¹ calls *Arderika*, i. e. Great Erech. This conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that, in Ezra iv. 9, the Erechites^{72a} are enumerated among the colonists of Samaria, along with the Babylonians, Susanchites, (Susiani) Elamites, (Elymæi) and other neighbouring tribes. Still nearer to Babylon than Arecca, lay the city of *Orchoe*,⁷³ on a lake formed by one of the canals of the Euphrates—the seat of a learned sect of Chaldæans, who chiefly applied themselves to astronomy and astrology. The name Orchoe may easily have been formed out of Erech; and it is probable that the former place did lie within the compass of the land of Shinar.

4. *Accad*,⁷⁴ another of the cities founded by Nimrod in the land of Shinar, Gen. x. 10. The original name was probably *Arcad* or *Archad*, as it is written by the most ancient Greek translators.⁷⁵ Of the two dissimilar consonants in the middle, the first was, in pronunciation, merged into the second.⁷⁶ *Ælian*⁷⁷ mentions, that, in that part of the district of Sittakene which belonged

* In the Eng. Vers. "Archevites." The Hebrew is אֲרַכְוִיָּא See our note on the Apharsachthites, in Vol. I. p. 305.—M.

to Persia, there was a river called Argade, a name of similar sound. Upon that river, it is supposed by Bochart,⁷⁸ lay the city of Arcad or Accad. But mere resemblance in sound affords a very precarious ground of conjecture, and we know not whether the province of Shinar reached so far east beyond the Tigris. It is even uncertain whether *Accad* (as it stands in the present text) be the true reading of the original. For several ancient translators found in their Hebrew MSS. *Achar*,⁷⁹ which was the ancient name of a city of Mesopotamia, that was afterwards called *Nesibis*;⁸⁰ hence the Jewish literati in the time of Jerome, identified that place with the city of Nimrod now in question.⁸¹ But the same objection we have stated against the opinion of Erech being Edessa is applicable here also,—viz. that the land of Shinar did not reach so far north as to include these parts of Mesopotamia. We must, therefore, give up hope of ascertaining any thing definite respecting Accad or Achar,⁸²—all traces of it appearing to have been very soon lost.

5. *Chalneh* or *Calneh*,⁸³ the fourth of Nimrod's cities, is probably not different from the Calno⁸⁴ of Isa. x. 9, or the Canneh⁸⁵ of Ezek. xxxvii. 23. According to the Chaldee translator, with whom Jerome agrees, this is the same place which was subsequently called Ctesiphon.⁸⁶ It lay upon

the Tigris, opposite Seleucia, and was, for a time, the capital of the Parthians. This ancient opinion respecting the situation of Chalneh is rendered probable by the circumstance, that the district around Ctesiphon was called by the Greeks *Chatonitis*, which would be easily formed out of Chalneh.⁸⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus says that it was Pacorus, a Persian king, (who reigned from A. D. 71 to 107,) that changed the name of this city to Ctesiphon.⁸⁸ In the time of the prophets Amos and Isaiah, who were nearly cotemporary, (about eight hundred years before the Christian era) Chalneh appears to have constituted an independent principality. For the former prophet says, ch. vi. 1, 2 :

Woe unto them that dwell at ease in Zion !
 And that rest secure on the mountains of Samaria !
 That are named after the chief of the nations :
 And to them the house of Israel resort.
 Pass over unto Calneh, and see :
 And go from thence to the great Hamath :
 And go down to Gath of the Philistines.
 Are they better than these kingdoms ?
 Or is their border greater than your border ?^a

But not long after, Chalneh became a prey to the Assyrians, with the rest of Western Asia.

^a This is Newcome's Version. *Zion* denotes Judah ; and *Samaria*, Israel. *Hamath* is Epiphania in Syria. By "*these kingdoms*," are meant Judah and Israel.—M.

For in Isaiah (chap. x. 9) the king of Assyria is introduced saying:

Are not my princes altogether kings?

Is not Calno as Charchemish?

Is not Hamath as Arpad?

Is not Samaria as Damascus?

About a hundred and fifty years later, Chalneh was still a considerable town, as may be inferred from the circumstance, that it is mentioned by Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 23) among the places which traded with Tyre.⁸⁹ The site of Ctesiphon or Calneh, was afterwards occupied by *El-Madain*,⁹⁰ i. e. “the (Two) Cities;” of which the only extant remains are the ruins of a palace called *Tak-Kesra*, that is, the Bow of Chosroes, or *Ivan-Kesra*,⁹¹ the Palace of Chosroes,—along with a great many mounds of rubbish.

6. The district of *Cutha*⁹² appears likewise to have been a part of Babylonia, out of which Salmanasser, king of Assyria, sent colonists to people the country of the ten tribes of Israel carried by him captive, 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30. For a place of the same name is mentioned by Abulfeda,^{93a} and other Arabic and Persian writers,^{93b} as situated in the tract near the Nahar Malca, or King’s Canal, south of Bagdad, between the Euphrates and Tigris. The people, who sprang from the intermixture of these colonists with the native Samaritans, were

branded by the Jews with the reproachful name of *Cutheans*.^{93c}

The situation of Babylonia was uncommonly favourable for commerce. By means of the great navigable rivers the Euphrates and Tigris, by which it was inclosed, merchandise was easily conveyed into the country by water; namely, on the first mentioned river downwards from Syria and Asia Minor,—on the other from Media and Armenia—while up these streams, from the Persian Gulf, goods were brought from India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and every part of Africa. Hence Babylonia became the *depôt* of the treasures of both Africa and Asia; and therefore is it correctly styled by Ezekiel (ch. xvii. 4), *the land of merchants*.⁹⁴ The cloth of Babylonia, commonly made of cotton, was highly esteemed for the fineness of the fabric and the splendour of the colours, and seems to have been exported to foreign countries at a very early period. Among the spoils which fell into the hands of the Israelites at the capture of Jericho under Joshua, was a *cloak* or *mantle of Shinar*, i. e. Babylonia,⁹⁵ Josh. vii. 21. The allusions in the ancient writings of the Hebrews, are confirmed by the more particular accounts transmitted by *Herodotus*,⁹⁶ who describes the Babylonians as a people fond of pomp and magnificence, and accustomed to a

number of artificial wants, which could only have been supplied by commercial intercourse with many nations, some of them very remote. "They wear," says he, "a gown of linen or cotton,^a flowing down to the feet, and over this a woollen garment, with a white (woollen) cloak covering the whole." This garb, as is remarked by *Heeren*, must have been too much for so warm a climate, and therefore seems to have been assumed rather from ostentation than to meet any actual wants. ["Carpets,^b one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were nowhere so finely woven, and in such splendid colours, as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the west.^c Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury seems nowhere to have been carried farther than among the Persians. With them not only the floors, but even beds and sofas in

^a The phrase of the original is *λίανον*.—M.

^b *Heeren* on the Politics, &c. of Asiatic Nations.—M.

^c The reader should compare the remarks of Böttiger on this subject, containing a fund of mythological instruction, in his "Interpretation of the figures on Greek vases." I. iii. p. 106.

the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship.^a

“Babylonian garments were not less esteemed; those, in particular, called sindones, were in very high repute. It appears that they were usually of cotton, and the most costly were so highly valued for their brilliancy of colour and fineness of texture as to be compared to those of Media, and set apart for royal use;^b they were even to be found at the tomb of Cyrus, which was profusely decorated with every description of furniture in use amongst the Persian kings during their lives.^c The superiority of Babylonian robes and carpets will not be a matter of surprise, when we consider how near Babylon was to Carmania on the one side, and to Arabia and Syria on the other, and that in these countries the finest cotton was produced.

Large weaving establishments were not confined to the capital; but existed likewise in other cities and inferior towns of Babylonia, which Semiramis is said to have built on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which she appointed as marts for those who imported Median

^a Xenoph. and Arrian, VI. 29. ^b Theoph. Hist. Plant. IV. 9.

^c Arrian, l. c.

and Persian goods.^a These manufacturing towns also were staples for land traffic. The most famous of them was Borsippa, situated on the Euphrates, fifteen miles below Babylon, and mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus. These were the principal linen and cotton manufactories, and they still existed in the age of Strabo.^b

Besides these, the Babylonians appear to have made all kinds of apparel, and every article of luxury ; such as sweet waters, which were in common use, and probably necessary from the heat of the climate. Walking sticks delicately chased with figures of animals and other objects, and also elegantly engraved stones, were in general use among the Babylonians. These stones begin to form a particular class, since the curiosities called Babylonian cylinders have become less rare. Many of them have undoubtedly served for seal rings ; for in the East the seal supplies the place of a signature, or, at any rate, makes it valid, as we still see on specimens of Babylonian documents. The same may be said of the cylinders. We have a striking illustration of the perfection to which the Babylonians had brought the art of cutting precious stones, in the collection of M. Dorow, which contains a cylinder formed from a jasper, bearing a cuneiform

^a Diod. I. p. 125.

^b Strab. XVI. p. 1074.

inscription, and an image of a winged *Ized* or genius, in a flowing Babylonian dress, represented in the act of crushing, with each hand, an ostrich, the bird of Ahriman.^a That the Babylonians possessed a maritime navigation when their power was at its height, may be gathered in general, from the productions of the contemporary Jewish prophet, Isaiah,^b “ Thus saith the Lord, your deliverer ; for your sakes have I sent to Babel, and thrown to the ground all obstacles, and the Chaldeans who exult in their ships.” This is a graphic description of a people no less proud of their ships, than of their gates and ramparts. But more definite information is preserved to us in the Greek writers, who deserve the utmost attention of the historical inquirer. *Æschylus*, in his play of the Persians, enumerating the nations who composed the armies of the great king, speaks as follows : “ Babylon

^a *Oriental Antiquities*, published by *D. Döring*, No. I. 1818, with the draughts and interpretations of *Grotefend* and others.

^b *Isaiah* xliii. 14, according to the translation of *Michaelis*. *Gesenius* has it differently, “ For your sakes send I to Babel, and drive all its fugitives to the Chaldees, to their ships which are their delight.” To which he has the following note : “ The fugitives are the people collected together in the commercial city of Babel, (consequently different from the Chaldees) who, on the invasion of the enemy, take refuge in the ships of their delight, their joy, or tumultuous pleasure ; for these vessels, instruments of the magnificence of Babel, were commonly filled with crowds of rejoicing people.”

too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who both embark in ships and boast of their skill in archery.”]

Babylon was from early times the seat of learning and science ; and astronomy, especially, made there very considerable progress.⁹⁷ Yet the interest which the Babylonians took in the accurate observation of the heavenly bodies, was not of a purely scientific character. It was connected with the belief, that the stars exercised an influence, not only over the weather, but over the destinies of men, and that, by the exact study of their courses and phenomena, a knowledge might be obtained of future events—a belief which gradually led to the practice of star-worship, to which, along with their neighbours the Arabs, the Babylonians became much addicted. The accumulated astronomical and astrological knowledge of centuries was preserved, by a peculiar *caste* of priests, or literati, who were divided into several classes, as among the Egyptians and Persians. They were called by the general name of *wise* or *learned men*,⁹⁸ and likewise *Chaldeans*,⁹⁹ from the nation with whom they migrated into Babylonia.* When Nebuchadnezzar had

* This is affirmed too positively. *Heeren* assigns good reasons for believing that the Magians had been established in Babylonia, long before its conquest by the Chaldeans. See the extract from his *Researches on Asiatic Nations* at the end of the present chapter, p. 50.—M.

conquered Jerusalem, and entered the city with the grandees of his kingdom, among others who formed his train is mentioned *the chief of the Magi*.^{100a} Jerem. xxxix. 3, 13. Whether this was a distinct class of Babylonian priests, or whether the Magi included the whole of the sacerdotal caste, cannot be determined with certainty.¹⁰¹ To their number, doubtless, belonged the astrologers and star-gazers, mentioned in Isa. xlvii. 13.¹⁰² The original of the former of these words denotes *heaven-dividers*, from the circumstance that the astrologers, to facilitate the casting of nativities, and for other purposes of their art, divided the firmament into different sections and fields. In some places of the Book of Daniel, where mention is made of the Chaldee soothsayers and dream-interpreters (ch. i. 20 ; ii. 2 ; x. 27 ; iv. 4 ; v. 7, 11), they are designated by several different names.¹⁰³ But it is uncertain, whether these denote various orders of Magians, or are merely different names for the same general class.¹⁰⁴

The language of the ancient Babylonians was a branch of the Shemitic family of languages—the same to which the Hebrew and Arabic belong ; and it differed little or nothing from the East-Aramaic or Chaldee.¹⁰⁵ It has been argued, indeed, that the Chaldee must

^a In the Eng. Version, it is a proper name, *Rab-Mag*.—M.

have been a dialect of the Medo-Persian class of languages, because the names which occur in Scripture of Babylonian or Chaldæan idols, kings and other persons, as well as of offices and dignities, are found to be of Persian derivation.¹⁰⁶ But these names were evidently taken from the Assyrian language, which appears to have been a Medo-Persian dialect, that became naturalized in Babylon during the dominion of the Assyrians, and continued to be employed under the Chaldee dynasty; just as the Turks have retained a great many names, which characterize persons, places, and dignities, originally taken from the Arabic and Persic tongues. The Babylonians had also the same alphabetical writing as the Chaldæans. It was that kind which later Jewish writers style the *Assyrian*, inasmuch as they regard Assyria, in its most extensive sense, as including Babylonia and Chaldæa.¹⁰⁷ On two of the burnt bricks, found in the ruins of Babylon, the writing seems allied to the Phœnician, a cognate Shemitic dialect.¹⁰⁸ But the more common cuneiform inscriptions are evidently of later date, and belong to the period of the Persian dominion over Babylonia.¹⁰⁹

According to the account preserved in the Book of Genesis, the kingdom of Babylon was the most ancient that was established among mankind after the flood. It was founded by

Nimrod, one of the posterity of Ham, Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. He is called a son of Cush, by which it seems to be intimated, that he had come from the south,¹¹⁰ (probably from Arabia) to the banks of the Euphrates, and subdued the land of Shinar.¹¹¹ That he was a conqueror, is implied in the words: "he began to be a mighty one on the earth;" while the addition, "he was a mighty hunter before Jehovah,"¹¹² points to the manner in which he attained the dominion. In those early times, when the habitations of men had to be protected against the attacks of wild beasts, hunting came to be considered as not only a useful but an honourable and heroic employment. Thus the Greeks recount the exploits of Hercules, of Theseus, of Meleagros and others. Nimrod seems to have gained renown in a similar manner, and then to have raised himself to supreme power with the assistance of those who had followed him in the chase.¹¹³ Though he cannot be said to be presented in Scripture in a favourable light, yet no express condemnation is pronounced on him. The traditions of the East, however, exhibit him as an impious tyrant, who presumptuously rebelled against God,¹¹⁴ and in his insensate wickedness, attempted to assail the Deity on his high throne in the heavens.¹¹⁵ There is no mention of Nimrod in Greek or Roman writers. According to them, Belus built Babel, and founded the Ba-

bylonian empire. But perhaps "Bel,"¹¹⁶ which in Chaldee signifies "a Lord," was the title which the first king bore by way of distinction; and in that case Belus and Nimrod may have been identical. Several centuries later, in the time of Abraham, mention is made (in Gen. xiv. 1.) of a king of Shinar or Babylonia, Amraphel, who went as an ally of the king of Elam to reduce to obedience certain petty princes on the Jordan. Subsequently to this period, there is no notice in the earlier historical books of Scripture, either of Shinar or Babel. A list of Babylonian kings has been given by Ptolemy, a learned Alexandrian of the second century of our æra, which he probably extracted from the writings of Berosus,¹¹⁷ a Chaldæan priest. It begins with Nabonassar, in the year B. c. 747.¹¹⁸ This king was, without doubt, a vassal of Assyria;¹¹⁹ for, among the colonists, whom Salmanassar, king of Assyria, transported to his newly-acquired territory of Samaria, about the year B. c. 730, there were *Babylonians* (2 Kings xvii. 24) a clear proof that Babylonia was then dependent upon Assyria, though it had nominal kings of its own. Such a viceroy was Merodach-Baladan, who, about the year B. c. 711, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, king of Judah, to congratulate him on his recovery from sickness, and propose a league against the Assyrians, 2 Kings

xx. 12; Isa. xxxix. 1. This Merodach-Baladan,* who, in Ptolemy's catalogue, is called *Mardokempadus*,¹²⁰ is also mentioned by Berosus,¹²¹ under the same name which he bears in scripture. It is related of him, that he obtained the supreme authority in Babylon, by the murder of his predecessor Acises, but possessed it only for six months, when he was slain by Belibus or Elibus, who ascended the throne of Babylon as an independent monarch. But, in the third year of his reign, he was besieged and carried captive by Sancherib, [Sennacherib] king of Assyria,¹²² who appointed as viceroy of Babylon, his own son Esarhaddon. Yet before a century had expired, the Assyrian dynasty in Babylon was overthrown by the Chaldæans. This people, who, in the Old Testament, are designated "the Casdim,"¹²³ were a warlike tribe, originally located in the Carduchian Mountains, in the north of Assyria and Mesopotamia.¹²⁴ That they were related to the Hebrews appears from the circumstance, that their ancestor Cased [Kesed]^b was a son of Nachor, and consequently a nephew of Abraham, (Gen. xxii. 22); and it is out of Ur of the

* He is sometimes called *Berodach*, the labials ב and פ being often interchanged.—M.

^b כֶּסֶד *Kesed*; plural, כַּסְדִּים *Kasdim*. But is this any thing more than conjecture? May not "Ur-Kasdim" have existed before the time of Abraham?—M.

Chaldees (*Ur-Casdim*) that Abraham himself is said to have come,¹²⁵ before he dwelt in Charran, (Gen. xi. 28, 31; Neh. ix. 7.) The country on the river Chaboras, in Mesopotamia, is called in Ezek. i. 3, *the land of the Chaldees*; and, according to Job i. 3, they were Chaldæans who made predatory inroads into the land of Uz. The prophet Jeremias mentions them (ch. v. 15) as an *ancient* people.¹²⁶ When the Assyrian monarchs extended their conquests towards the west, the Chaldæans also came under their sway. This raw but hardy race appears to have received from their conquerors a new organization; part of them were transferred to Babylonia, with a view, probably, to protect the frontiers against the neighbouring Arabs, while means were at the same time taken for reducing their barbarous hordes to discipline, and imparting to them the advantages of civilization.^{127a} That this

* “The question, what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents. From eastern analogy, it seems most probable, that the כַּשְׁדִּים *Casdim* of the Hebrews, which is translated Chaldæans, was a general name among the Semitic nations for the *Northern barbarians*, as Turani was among the inhabitants of Iran. At all events, it is certain that the conquering Chaldeans forced their way from the north, since their separate hordes had already wandered in the Steppes of Mesopotamia for a hundred years, and had, in part, settled there. The reader, however, is particularly referred to *Gesenius* on Isaiah xxiii. 13, where the fragments of the earlier his-

took place not long before the time of Salmanassar, may be inferred from Isaiah xxiii. 13, where the Chaldæans in Babylonia are termed “a new nation, formed by the Assyrians;”^a and it may be gathered from the same passage, that the Chaldæans constituted the most considerable and effective part of the Assyrian host, seeing the prophet intimates, that it should be through them that Salmanassar would succeed in the destruction of Tyre, to which his army had laid siege. A very lively and graphic picture of the Chaldæan warriors has been given by the prophet Habakkuk (ch. i. 6—11), who probably lived at the period when this people

tory of this people will be found collected. This learned commentator seeks the original seat of the Chaldeans in the mountains of Curdistan, now inhabited by the Kurds, probably their successors; and conjectures that they were brought from their native regions by the Assyrians as mercenaries, after which they settled in the plains, till they started forth as conquerors. Every one acquainted with Asiatic history, will at once see that there is nothing in the opinion that their name was a general appellation, but what may very well agree with this notion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that would make them Scythians, refutes itself.” *Heeren on the Politics, &c. of Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 147, note.—M.

^a *Michaelis* translates, or rather paraphrases the passage thus :

Behold the land of the Chaldæans !
That nation which a little time since was not.
The Assyrian subdued it,
And gave it to the inhabitants of the desert,
They fixed the wandering hordes in settled dwellings,
And built up the palaces of the land.—M.

first made their appearance in Palestine or some adjacent region.¹²⁸

For behold ! I raise up the Chaldæans,
That rude and boisterous people,
Who roam far and wide through the earth,
To seize on possessions which belong not to them.
Frightful and terrible are they,
Their will is their only law and rule.
Swifter than panthers^a are their horses,
And keener than evening wolves.
Their cavalry prance in pride,—
From afar do they come,—and they fly
Like an eagle darting on its prey.
All of them come to destroy ;
Their faces scorch up,^b as the east-wind,
And they gather captives as the sand.
Yea, they^c scoff at kings,
And princes are their derision ;
They laugh at every strong-hold,
And heap up earth,^d and take it.
Yet shall they vanish as the wind and pass away,
They shall be condemned, for making a god of their
strength.

This warlike tribe must, in a short period, have acquired very considerable influence in the As-

^a “ Leopards tamed and taught to hunt, are made use of in the East for hunting, and seize the prey with surprising agility ; when he leaps, he throws himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time.” Harmer’s *Observ.* Vol. II. p. 438.—M.

^b The idea is “ to absorb or dry up,” like the pestilential east-wind. In the English Vers. and Newcome, it is rendered “ to sup up.”—M.

^c By the emphatic מִן of the original, *Dathe* understands Esarhad-don, king of Assyria.—M.

^d This refers to the practice of raising up mounds for the capture of fortresses.—M.

syrian empire ; for about a hundred and twenty years after the reign of Esarhaddon, Nabopalassar, a Babylonian viceroy, concluded an alliance with Cyaxares, King of Media, and with his aid conquered Assyria.¹²⁹ Now that Nabopalassar was a Chaldæan by nation may be inferred from the circumstance, that thenceforth no mention is made of Assyrian, but only of Chaldæan kings.¹³⁰ Nabopalassar had a powerful adversary in Necho, King of Egypt, who advanced triumphantly as far as the Euphrates, all Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa yielding him a ready submission. In these circumstances, the now aged Nabopalassar assumed into the government his son Nebuchadnezzar,¹³¹ who had married a daughter of Cyaxares-Astibar, king of Media. This prince made it his first care to reduce to obedience the revolted provinces beyond the Euphrates ; and being opposed in this by Necho, the hostile armies met at Karchemish (Kirkesium), where the king of Egypt was defeated, about the year B. C. 604. Nebuchadnezzar followed up his victory, took Jerusalem, made the kingdom of Judah tributary, and was approaching the Egyptian frontier, when he received intelligence of his father's death. He returned to Babylon to take possession of the throne ; but as the Jews and other adjoining tribes endeavoured, in his absence, to

throw off the yoke, he again appeared in Syria with an army, about six years after (B. c. 598), and carrying captive the Jewish king and the greater part of the people, blotted out Judah from the number of independent realms. All the surrounding states were now compelled to yield ; and even Tyre itself, the seat of the commerce of the world, was subdued after a blockade and siege of thirteen years. But it is a groundless assertion of some writers, that Nebuchadnezzar likewise overran and depopulated Egypt, and advanced through Libya as far as the pillars of Hercules.¹³² On his return to Babylon, he enlarged and embellished his residence, probably erecting that part which lay on the west side of the Euphrates, and likewise formed new canals.¹³³ After a reign of three-and-forty-years he died in the year B. c. 562. The Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty now hastened to its fall. Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach,¹³⁵ (2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. lii. 31,) who seems to have been the husband of Queen Nitocris,¹³⁶ rendered himself so detestable by his crimes, that in the second year of his reign he was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who thereafter ascended the throne. After a reign of four years, he was succeeded by his son Laborosoarchod, then a minor, who, however, manifested so depraved a

disposition, that he was put to death by certain of the nobles, only nine months after his accession¹³⁷. They raised to the throne Nabonid or Labynet¹³⁸ (called Belshazzar in the book of Daniel), a son of Evil-Merodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.¹³⁹ During his minority, the reins of government seem to have been in the hands of his mother Nitocris. But now the extensive and consolidated power of the Medo-Persian empire under Cyrus, began to create, in all neighbouring monarchs, well-grounded fears for their independence. Nitocris perceived the danger that threatened her country, and endeavoured to secure Babylon against the invasion of the Persians by the skilful leading off of the Euphrates into new channels.¹⁴⁰ But all her precautions could not ward off the destiny which befel every other state of Western Asia. After Cyrus had made himself master of Lydia and other adjoining regions, he advanced with his army towards Babylon, which fell an easy prey to him in the year B. C. 538, the seventeenth of the reign of Nabonid, and only twenty-three years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁴¹

[The boundaries of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire extended as far under Nebuchadnezzar as they ever were carried, comprising Western Asia as far as the Mediteranean. Babylon was

made by Cyrus one of the capitals of his new empire. There was no city in Asia of whose possession the Persians were more jealous ; and the repeated attempts of the Babylonians to shake off the foreign yoke, shew they could not cloud their remembrance of their former might and greatness, nor stifle their repugnance to dependence and slavery.

Respecting the government of the Babylonian-Chaldæan empire, some few particulars have been preserved, principally by the prophet Daniel.¹⁴¹ It appears, on the whole, to have been much the same as that of the Persian empire, which was formerly described.¹⁴² A ruler with despotic power ; a court, in which eunuchs held the highest offices ; an empire divided into satrapies, governed by rulers, among whom a regular gradation of rank and title was found, and where the civil and military were often, though not always, separated ; collectors of tribute in the provinces ; higher and inferior judges. We find also a priestcraft, or priesthood, comprised under the names of Magians and Chaldæans, and which, principally by astrology and soothsaying, had a considerable influence upon the government. In what relation to society did this class stand ? and how came the term Chaldæans, which originally belonged to a people, to become the name of the priesthood ? These are questions which have been often agitated, but, from want of suf-

ficient information, can never be satisfactorily answered. Although Babylon did not become a mighty empire till after the Chaldæan conquest; yet every thing leads us to suppose, that it had long before been the seat of science and civilization, though principally confined to the order of priests. Unless this had been the case, how could these great works, more especially the mighty canals and lakes, ascribed to their earlier rulers, without which the city could not have existed, or the land have been cultivated, have been executed? There is no doubt that astronomy, or rather astrology, formed a great branch of their learning; and whatever opinion may be formed of the degree of perfection to which they had carried these sciences, it seems an indisputable fact, that at the time of Alexander's conquest, astronomical observations existed, and were imparted to him, which are affirmed to reach back for nineteen centuries.

This, combined with various other proofs, seems to render it evident, that the Magians had been established in Babylon, long before its conquest by the Chaldæans. As the primitive Magian religion had its origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, and spread itself over so large a portion of Asia, it is the less to be wondered at, that it should have made its way into Babylon, where the continual clearness of the sky, and the peculiar brightness of the stars, greatly facilitated

astronomical observations.^a Astrology, however, was the chief support of the Magians and the priesthood, and it was principally by its practice that they maintained their authority and influence in the state. Whether, however, these earliest Magians of Babylon, were disciples and followers of Zoroaster, I cannot venture to determine. The Magian doctrine, indeed, was much older than that of the Zend, as Zoroaster only appeared in the character of its reformer. How can this question be settled; when the Babylonian cylinders and gems, referring to the religion of Ormuzd, may very probably belong to the Persian period? If we admit, indeed, that the Chaldæans, and it seems very likely, were descended from the Kurds, then would they also belong to the Persian race, and could not have been strangers to the Magian doctrine, though they might have engrafted other particular points of belief upon it. And if they also had their priests, as indeed the Magian worship prescribes, there is nothing very strange in their becoming united with the Babylonian Magians. They are indeed usually mentioned with them, and are only distinguished as a separate class when spoken of definitely; though the two names are often confounded.^b

^a *Simplic.* in *Aristot. de Cælo*, p. 123. *Comp. Plin. Nat. Hist.* VII. 56.

^b Thus, in *Herodot.* I. 138. *Ctesias*, *Pers.* I. 15.

In this manner, therefore, the Magians and Chaldæans formed the priest caste in Babylon. It is certainly possible, that, according to rule, the son succeeded the father ; but that the priest-caste was not strictly hereditary, that even foreigners might be admitted to this office, if their early education had fitted them for it, is shewn by the example of Daniel and his companions (Dan. i. 4.) At their head was the high Magian, whose influence was so great, that, upon the death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he administered the affairs of the empire until the arrival of that prince. They were divided into several classes, as expounders of the sacred writings, interpreters of dreams, astronomers, and soothsayers ; and again distinguished from these are the Chaldæans. They dwelt not only in the capital, but also in other places ; and among others, probably, in establishments of which the mounds of bricks spoken of above, are the remains.^a Their connection with the kings is clearly shewn, from the history of Nebuchadnezzar. Their influence was founded upon their knowledge ; but their power seems never to have been so great as in the Persian court, if we may judge from the manner in which they were treated by Nebuchadnezzar ; unless, indeed,

^a As at Akkerkoof, Al Himar, and above all, at Borsippa, where, according to Strabo, there was one of their principal schools.

we may attribute this to the personal character of that formidable conqueror.*]

1. The name took its rise from בבל Babel, (see note 26 below), whence both the country and its metropolis were called by the Greeks and Romans, *Babylon*.

2. عراق العرب, عراق البابلي. On the name *Irak* see Vol. I. p. 178. A Latin translation by Reiske of Abulfeda's description of this province [since edited in Arab. and Lat. by Wüstenfeld], will be found in *Busching's Magazine for Hist. and Geogr.* Vol. iv. p. 250. Comp. *Golius* on Alfargani, p. 118. *D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient.* Article, *Erac*. *Assemani's Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 746. *Schultens' Geograph. Index to the Life of Saladin*, under *Irak*. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 607.

3. It is expressly said in Ezek. xii. 13: "I will carry them (the people)—בבלח ארץ כשדים to Babel in the land of the Chaldæans." Comp. *Ptolemy*, V. 18. In Acts vii. 4, the phrase γῆ Χαλδαίων occurs.

4. שנער. The Greek translators write Σενναέρ, and so likewise the Vulgate. The meaning is unknown. *Jerome* (de Nomin. Hebr. Tom. III. p. 16, of the Edit. of Vallars), explains it by "excusio dentium aut foetor eorum." He, or rather his Jewish teacher, meant that the name is compounded

* *Heeren*, Vol. ii. p. 188—193. Comp. Notes 97—104, to this chapter.—M.

of שן *shen*, a tooth, and נער *naār* "to shake out or thrust out." *Simonis Onomast.* V. T. p. 446, says the name שנער signifies "*excussio s. ejectio omnimoda*, ex שער, Arabice شجر *ejecit e loco*, Aethiopice שער, *abstulit, dimisit abiturum*, et ex נער Hebraice *excussit* (vid. Job xxxviii. 13), Chaldaice *de loco in locum transtulit*, Arabice *huc illuc profectus est, exulavit*. Nomen regionis fuit Babylonicae, sic dictae, quia homines post diluvium exinde in omnes regiones *ejecti et dispersi sunt*." Some find Sinear in the *Singara* of Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii. 5, 7; xx. 6; xxv. 7, 9), the name of a mountain and town in Mesopotamia.

It is the ὁ Σιγγάρας ὄρος of Ptolemy, and the سنجار of Arabian historians and geographers. See *Schultens'* Index to the Life of Saladin, under *Singjara*. *Niebuhr* says (Trav. Vol. II. p. 388): "On the south-side of our road (from Mosul and Mardin), we saw Mount سنجار Sindsjār. It lies in an extremely fruitful plain, and has a very pure and salubrious atmosphere." And it is remarked in the note: "Probably the *Singara* of Greek writers. The name has likewise a close resemblance to the Sinear (Shinar) of Scripture." *Schultens* says (loc. cit.): Nec sane abludunt שנער et سنجار. Sed *Sinhar* illud circa *Babylonem* erat, longius a *Singjara* nostra distans. Ecquid *Singarenam* regionem dicemus constituisse praeter *Babylonis agrum, oram omnem Tigridis occidentalem usque ad montana Armeniae*? Illuc inclinat *Bochart. Phaleg.* p. 24. Crediderim potius, celebrem illum *campestem*

tractum Singiarae برية سنجار, ad Babylonem usque procurrisse, atque *Terram Sinear* fuisse appellatam."

Wahl is of a similar opinion, in his *Asia*, p. 609: "It would seem that the whole country derives its name from the mountain at whose base it lies, and which is still denominated *Ssindsyaar*. As that mountain has always been famous for its great fertility, it is possible that the name imposed on it involved something of the idea of fruitfulness, which is also to be found according to some Dictionaries, in the roots نغر and سنع, but in so slender a degree, as that nothing certain can be based on it.

5. מדבר ים.

6. *Herodot.* I. 184. *Abydenus* (in *Eusebius Præpar. Evangel.* IX. 41. p. 457) says: λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλουμένην. The different opinions on the meaning of מדבר ים "the desert of the sea," as applied to Babylon, will be found enumerated and examined in *Rosenmüller's* Scholia and *Gesenius' Comment.* on Isa. xxi. 1. Some commentators think, that the "land of Nimrod," mentioned by the prophet Micah (ch. v. 5), is a poetical description of Babylonia; but we are rather to understand by it Assyria, which is the subject of our next chapter.

7. בקעו, Gen. xi. 2.

8. See the former vol. p. 61.

9. See *Herodot.* I. 193. For other particulars respecting these canals, see *Heeren's* *Ideen*, Part I. Div. 1, 2, p. 149, and *Mannert's* *Geog.* of the Gr. and Rom. Part V. Div. 1, 2, p. 342.

10. נהרות בבל.

11. נהר מלכא. The accounts of the ancients relative to this canal, are given by *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 342. *Ker Porter* found some traces of it. *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 289.

12. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 347. Comp. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 157.

13. *Mannert*, p. 349.

14. جاز زاد. *Niebuhr* takes the Djari-Zad for the Pallakopas. *Travels*, Part II. p. 223.

15. Ἀνέγνω Βαροῦχ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου ἐν ᾧσι.....πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Σούδ (זור). *Bochart* (*Geogr. Sacr. P. I. or Phaleg. I. 8*, p. 39) conjectures that in this extract from the book of Baruch, instead of Σούδ, we should read Σούρ. The words of the Hebrew original were, as he thinks, אל נהר סור but the translator changed the ר *resh* into ד *daleth*. *Sura* is the name of one of the arms of the Euphrates mentioned by the *Sherif Edrisi* (*Clima IV. cap. 4*), upon which lay a town of the same name.

16^a. I. 185. Comp. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 154.

16^b. These marshy lowlands are called in Arabic بطايح *Bataich*. *Abulfeda's* remarks on the *Batrachel-Irak*, will be found in *Reiske's* Notes to *Abulfeda's* Annals Tom. II. p. 782.

17. שכנת על-מים רבים.

18. سرداب, a Persian word, composed of *serd*, cold, and *ab*, water. *Niebuhr*, in his Remarks on Bagdad (*Trav. Part II. p. 293*), says: "Every inhabitant of any consequence, has, under his house, a *serdāp*, i. e. a high vaulted subterraneous apartment with a venti-

lator, a kind of chimney, which has at the top a wide opening toward the north ; for here also, as at Cairo and on the Island of Charedsh, the wind, in the hottest season, commonly blows from that quarter. In winter it never freezes so hard in Bagdad as in European countries ; yet we saw, at the beginning of February, ice of half-a-finger breadth in thickness. This, however, was regarded as an astonishing degree of cold, and we were assured that, in the course of two nights, twenty persons were frozen to death in the city alone. Nor is this at all incredible, when it is recollected that in these countries the poor go almost naked, and many of them lie all night in the streets." According to Porter, the heat of Bagdad in summer is insupportable. " The latitude of Bagdad, from the mean observations taken by Mr. Rich and others, is $33^{\circ} 19' 40''$, and the longitude, east of Greenwich, $44^{\circ} 44' 45''$. The climate, in general, has the advantage of parts of Persia, in not being variable in such violent extremes ; but then its warmest months are certainly insufferable, from the abiding effects of the forty days' prevalence of the consuming *samiel*. At that season, the thermometer frequently mounts in the shade from 120 to 140 degrees of heat, according to Fahrenheit. Hence it may easily be conceived, that winter is the most genial season here ; and the inhabitants tell me that the air then becomes soft, and of the most delightful salubrity ; particularly, they say, from the fifteenth of November to about the middle of January. At present, towards the latter end of October, while I am writing, the skirts of the ' withering blast' seem to be yet hovering over us ; the heat

standing at 90, and has been from that to 93, on an average, ever since my arrival. When the heat approaches ten degrees beyond this point, the inhabitants betake themselves to the refuge of certain arched apartments, called the Zardaub, constructed deep in the foundations of the houses for this very purpose. From this situation they can have no windows; therefore catch their glimpse of day-light as it may glimmer through the doors from the chambers above. Thin matting supplies the place of carpets, and every precaution and method is pursued that can bring coolness to these gloomy abodes, where the chief part of the natives of Bagdad pass the whole of the sultry day, while the atmosphere without retains its more scorching fires. At sunset, each family issues from their subterranean shelter, and, ascending to the top of the house, take their evening repast beneath the arch of heaven, and under the same free canopy, 'fanned by tepid airs,' they spread their bedding along the variously disposed divisions of the roof; whose irregular forms are so contrived, to catch every zephyr's breath that passes. In these elevated apartments, the natives repose until the close of October, at which time the days become comparatively cool; and sudden blasts blowing up during the night from the north and south-east, render sleeping in the open air chilling and dangerous. Hence at these nocturnal hours, the good people begin to nestle into the warm corners within the house; but during the day, they describe the atmosphere to be every thing that is celestial; so clear, so balmy, so inspiring, as to yield sufficient excuse

to the great monarchs of Persia for deserting the arid regions of their own kingdom at this season, to take up a temporary abode in the salubrious gardens of Amyites." *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 261. Comp. *Olivier*, *Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 331.

19. Niebuhr, loc. cit. Part II. p. 227 of the original German.

20. Tom. IV. p. 335.

21. I. 193.

22. Herodot. I. 179. *Niebuhr* says, (*Travels*, Part II. p. 288.)* "When mention is made of the antiquities of Babylon, we must not fancy to ourselves such splendid monuments as are to be seen in Persia and Egypt. At Persepolis, the finest of marble was found close by the city, and in the very hill where stands the far-famed palace. The limestone, of which the large pyramids, near Cairo, are constructed, was also quarried on the spot; and above that place limestone rocks frequently occur near the Nile, and farther south there are mountains of granite. But on the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Persian Gulf as far as Hillah and Bagdad, and still farther north, nothing of this kind is met with, but all is marshy ground. If the Babylonians had wished to build with hewn stones, they would have had to bring them from a great distance, and at an enormous expense.

* *Rich* says on his *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*: "Before entering into a minute description of the ruins, it is necessary to state, that they consist of mounds of earth, composed of the decomposition of building, channelled and furrowed by the weather, and the surface of them strewed with pieces of brick, bitumen, and pottery."—*M.*

They therefore built their best houses of bricks, about the thickness of ours, and a foot square, and these they burned as thoroughly as any bricks I have ever seen. If they had used lime^a for a cement, we should have found many more remains of their edifices at the present day. But as they were compacted together by so slight a material, a temptation was held out to pull down the old buildings, and erect with the bricks new houses in the neighbouring towns and villages on the Euphrates. A large and fine caravanserai, at Hillah, in which I dwelt, was built, not many years ago, out of the ruins of these ancient edifices."

23. The *Is* of Herodotus, is, without doubt, the same place which is still by the Arabs called هيت, *Hit*. *Abulfeda* says, in his Description of Arabian Irak (a Latin version of which, by *Reiske*, is in Büsching's Magazine, Part IV. p. 256): "Hit is one of the border towns of Irak, on the west bank of the Euphrates, where vessels usually touch; there also are springs of bitumen and naphtha." I add the original, from the unpublished^b Dresden MS. هيت حد

^a Lime does seem to have been sometimes used. See *Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa, passim*.—M.

^b Since published by *Wüstenfeld*, whose Latin translation of the entire passage follows: "Hit est ad septentrionem Euphratis; dicit in el-Moschtareko: Hit est ad Euphratem et e præfecturis Bagdâdi. Dicit in el-Lobâbo: Hit est urbs ad Euphratem super el-Ambâr et in ea sepulcrum Abdallae Ben-el-Mobârek. Dicit in el-Azizico: Hit est inter limites Iracæ et ad occidentem Euphratis, unum de emporiis Euphratis, ubi sunt fontes picis et naphthæ; inter eam et el-Câdesiam octo sunt parasangæ et inter eam iterum et el-Ambâr,

من حدود العراق وهي علي غربي الفرات
فرضة من فرض العراق وبها عيون القار والنظ

“ How faithfully, says Porter, do these vestiges agree with the method of building in Babylon, as described by Herodotus ! He observes, that the bricks intended for the walls, were formed of the clay dug from the great ditch that backed them. They were baked in large furnaces ; and in order to join them together in building, warm bitumen was used ; and between each course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid interwoven together. The bitumen (he continues to tell us), is drawn from certain pits in the neighbourhood of Is, a town on the Euphrates. These pits exist to this day ; the town in their vicinity now bearing the name of Hit or Heet ; it lies about four days’ journey north-west of Bagdad, and is on the western bank of the river.” *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 361. *Olivier*, in describing the boats that ply to Bassora and Bagdad, and are covered with bitumen, says (*Voyages*, Tom IV. p. 323) : “ This bitumen is procured from the country of Hit. Some leagues to the west of that town, there are pools which every year are covered with bitumen, which the heat of the sun raises out of the bowels of the earth. The Arabs collect it at the end of summer and bring it to Bagdad. It is obtained in such abundance, that it is used not only for pitching boats, but for the coating of aqueducts, baths, cooking utensils,

21 parasangae. Secundum el-Tartib appellata est Hit (locus humilis), quia sit in cavo terrae.” — *Wüstenfeld’s Abulfeda*, p. 9.—M.

and whatever is required to be made water-proof. The clay-built walls of Babylon, were probably covered with this bitumen, to protect them against the effects of the atmosphere and damp." Comp. *D'Herbelot's* Bibl. Orient. under the article *Hit*. Bitumen is elsewhere employed as cement in building. Christ. Müller in his Travels through Greece and the Ionian Islands in 1821 (Leipz. 1822, p. 116), informs us that the bitumen of Zante, when dried in the sun, forms an almost indissoluble and indestructible cement, and is frequently used for that purpose. Comp. Gen. xi. 3, where mention is made of the לבני־חמר, or *bricks* burned in the sun, and the רוֹמָר, or bituminous pitch [in the Eng. Vers. *slime*] respecting which see also *Bochart*, Geog. Sac. Part I. Lib. I. Cap. ii. 44, and *Rosenmüller's* Morgenland, Part I. No. 24. On the different kinds of naphtha,* and the different uses to which it is applied, see *Kämpfer's* Amoenitt. Exot. Fascic. II. p. 273. *Gmelin's* Travels, Part III. p. 47, and *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part II. p. 336.

24. See *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. and *Ker Porter*, loc. cit. p. 360. Comp. *Heeren's* Ideem, Part I. Div. 2, p. 161.

25. שֶׁשׁ. According to the Rabbinical opinion, mentioned by St. Jerome (see his Comment. on Jerem. xxv. 26), this name was equivalent to בָּבֶל, Babel, being interpreted according to the Cabbalistic form מִרְבַּשׁ (*Athbash*), in which מ is put for א, ש for ב,

* In its most liquid state it is called *naphtha*, and according to its degree of consistency, becomes *petroleum*, *elastic bitumen*, *malitha*, and *asphaltum*.—M.

and כ for ל.* The prophet, they supposed, employed this mystical name of Babel, that he might not irritate the Chaldeans, who were then besieging Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar. But that this is a groundless conjecture, appears from the circumstance, that in chap. li. 41, Babel is in one verse spoken of under its real name, and in the next under the name of Sheshak. *Calmet* supposes (in his *Comment.* and his *Dictionary* under *Sesach*), that this was the name of a Babylonian deity, perhaps the moon; but in that case, the expression “the king of Sheshach,” (Jer. xxv. 26), would be inapplicable. *Simonis*, in his *Onomast.* p. 576, explains the name by *habitatio secura*, from שש, and שש, to dwell, to rest, whence, in Syr. ܫܫܐ, rest, with the final syllable ܫ=, as in ܓܢܓ a treasury, from ܓܢܓ treasure. *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. p. 2357), thinks שש became a

lofty, poetical designation of Babylon, from ܫܫܐ lamina ferrea obduxit portam, seeing that, according to *Abydenus*, in *Eusebius* (Præp. Evang. IX. 41), Nebuchadnezzar strengthened the gates of Babylon

* They divide the Hebrew alphabet into two equal parts, ranging the second in a line under the first. When ל, כ, &c. are placed under א, ב, &c. they call it אלבא *Albam*, and when reversing the order of letters in the underline, א is under ל, ש under ב, &c. they call it אשבא *Athbasch*. It is the latter to which reference is here made, the two *shins* in שש, corresponding to the two *beths* in בבל, and the *capit* of the former, to the *lamed* of the latter. The Chald. has in this place ܫܫܐ ܐܬܒܫܐ. In Jer. li. 1, the words לִב קָמִי become by this kind of transposition ܠܒܐ ܕܩܡܝܐ *Casdim*, the Chaldeans.—M.

with plates of iron, whence that writer styles the city *χαλκόπυλον*. But the most plausible explanation is that proposed by *Von Bohlen*, in his *Symbol. ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. ex Ling. Pers.* p. 22. He thinks

𐤆𐤍𐤏 is synonymous with the Persian شاه *Schih-Schah*, i. e. domus principis, He fortius prolato, ut in *براهمن* *Brachman*, *پاچمان* *πάχμαν*, *βόμβυξ*, etc. Instead of شاه (which in *Castellus* and *Richardson* properly signifies “a court or front court,”) we might take شهر *Shahr* or *Shehr*, “a town.” Only it is doubtful whether, at so early a period as the age of *Jeremiah*, *Babel* could have received a Persian name that would be known in *Judæa*.

26. בבל from בלל to confound, instead of בלבב, for which also in *Syr.* ܒܠܒܒ; so in like manner the *Syrians* use ܒܠܒܒ for ܒܠܒܒ *bells*; ܒܠܒܒ for ܒܠܒܒ *a skull*. Comp. *Gesenius*, *Lehrgeb. d. Hebr. Sprach.* p. 134. Some of the ancients derive the name of *Babel* from *Belus*, the supposed founder. So the *Ety-mol. Magnum*: Βαβυλων...εἴρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ Βήλου, ὁ κτίσας αὐτήν, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσε. This is likewise the opinion of *Eichhorn* in his *Program*: Declarantur diversitatis linguarum ex traditione Semitica origines. *Göttingen*, 1788; reprinted in the *Allgem. Biblioth. d. Bibl. Literat.* Vol. iii. p. 981. He explains the name of *Babel* by باب *i. e.* Bel’s Gate or Court. In that case בל would be a contraction for בעל. “A בל est contractum בל, gutturali elisâ, quod Chaldæis

est usitatum," says *Buxtorf* in his Lexic. Chald. Talmud. p. 333.

27. This is the simple and only sense to be attached to the passage in Gen. xi. 4, agreeably to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*. But it has been sadly tortured to a different meaning, by interpreters both ancient and modern. Several of the opinions have been enumerated and refuted by *Faber*, in his *Archæology of the Hebrews*, p. 208; yet his own exposition is as open to objection as any. He would render עֵלֹה "a god or deity" (referring to Levit. xxiv. 11, 16. Deut. xxviii. 58), and פָּרַח to overflow or inundate (comp. فَيَض), translating the whole verse thus: "Let us make to ourselves a god, that we may not be inundated in any part of the earth."^a The erroneousness of this interpretation has been shewn by *Hetzel*, in his *Thoughts upon the Building of the City and Tower of Babel* (Hildburghausen, 1774, 8vo. p. 76); yet that writer's own exposition is no less unsatisfactory. He would translate: "Let us take to ourselves a peculiar name, so that we may not be separated from each other, nor be scattered

* That the tower was to be erected as a safeguard against a second flood, seems to have been the opinion of *Josephus* (Ant. I. 4), as well as of *Nic. Lyra* in his *Scholia*. *Perizonius*, in his learned but somewhat fanciful work, "*Origines Babylonice*," p. 236, thinks that עֵלֹה denotes here a "sign" or beacon, which might be a rallying point to all in the flat country of Shinar. He refers to the similar use of ^Sعَلَو in Arabic,

the root being عَلَو *eminuit, excelsus fuit*.—M.

over the earth." But besides that the phrase, "to make one's self a name," has never the sense here assigned to it,—it is difficult to perceive how the assumption of a new and peculiar name could have hindered their dispersion. *Kelle* ("the Holy Scriptures in their primitive form," Part II. p. 37) renders it: "We must make ourselves a name, yet let us not scatter ourselves over the earth,"—and he supposes (contrary to the whole tenor of the narrative) that, in building the tower, they were actuated solely by ambition, and not by the wish to prevent their own dispersion. According to *Eichhorn* (in the Dissert. quoted in note 26) the narrative is a historical mythus, intended to account for the variety of language among men, which was felt to be a barrier to intercourse and trade, and to represent it as a punishment from heaven. But it is inconceivable how the incidents related could have found currency among so many tribes of the East, if they had not had a basis of historical truth. For other hypotheses see *Kanngiessers' Grundrisse d. Alterthumswissensch.* p. 61. Comp. *Volney Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*, P. I. p. 7, P. III. p. 14, note; and the author's *Scholia on Genesis*, Part I. Vol. I. p. 240 and 286 of the third edition.

28. *Abydenus*, the author of an Assyrian history, which has long since perished, says, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Præpar. Evang.* IX. 14), that some related "that the first men who were upon the earth, relying on their strength and greatness, despising the gods, and thinking themselves superior to them, undertook to build a high tower on the spot where

Babylon now stands; that the tower had nearly reached to heaven, when the winds coming to the help of the gods, threw down the immense mass of stones upon the heads of the builders, and that Babylon took its rise from these ruins. And whereas before that period all men had but one language, they now began to speak different tongues." This agrees almost literally with what *Moses of Chorene* cites in his *Armenian History* (I. 8), from *Maribas of Catina*, who had taken his account from an ancient Chaldee work in the royal Assyrian library at Nineveh, which, by command of Alexander the Great, was translated into Greek. "From the gods," it is there said, "who inhabited the earth in the first ages, there sprang the race of giants of immense size, and of the strongest bodily frame. Full of insolent daring, they formed the ambitious design to build a lofty tower. But while they were employed in the erection, a dreadful tempest, raised by the gods, destroyed the huge edifice, and scattered among them unknown words, whence arose discord and confusion." The Sybilline oracle contains a similar tradition. It is reported by *Josephus* (*Antiqq.* I. 4, 3), and will be found in the Greek work edited by *Gallaeus*, Book III. p. 336, with which comp. his *Dissert. de Sibyllis*, p. 459.

29. *Ctesias* in *Diodor. Siculus*, II. 7, p. 120, of Wesseling's edit. He says that Semiramis, who was regarded by the Assyrians as the founder of Babylon, employed two millions of her subjects, from all parts of her empire, in forced labours at the building of the city and the tower of Belus. "What an extra-

ordinary spectacle," says *Volney*, "must such an assemblage of men have been, differing in colour, dress, manners, customs, and, most of all, in language, for in the vast empire of Semiramis, more than eighty different languages or dialects must have been spoken." *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*, P. I. p. 1, 7, and Part III. p. 8, 14. Comp. *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 2. According to another account by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XXIII. 6, 23, the erection of Babylon is ascribed to Ninus.

30. *Præpar. Evang.* IX. 41. Megasthenes, a Greek historian, lived at the court of Seleucus Nicator, King of Babylon, about the year 280 B. C.

31. In *Lib. I. contra Apion*, § 19. Berosus, who was of a priestly family of Babylon, flourished shortly after Megasthenes. See *Volney*, loc. cit. p. 18, note. His Chaldee Antiquities, fragments of which have been preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, were highly valued by the ancients.

32. Hence, says Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan. iv. 27*): "Is not this the great Babylon, which I have built by my great power, as a royal residence, and as a monument of my glory?" The verb בנה like the Syr. ܒܢܐ is sometimes used of the enlarging and fortifying a town, *e. g.* 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xi. 5, 6. *Berosus* says (as quoted in *Josephus*, Ant. x. 11, 1), that Nebuchadnezzar enlarged Babylon by one-half its former size, having restored that part of the city which lay on the west bank of the Euphrates. He likewise adorned it with magnificent edifices, some of which, however, he did not live to finish.

33. I. 178, et seqq. The descriptions of Babylon

by Herodotus, and other ancient authors, are admirably illustrated, and compared with the accounts given by modern travellers of the present ruins, by *Rennel* in his "Geography of Herodotus," [London, 1800.]

34. To this there is a reference in Isa. xlv. 2, where Jehovah says to Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon :

I will go before thee and level the heaps :

Brazen gates I will burst, and iron bars I will sever.*

35. These accounts of the extent and regular construction of ancient Babylon have, by some, been regarded as the exaggerations of fancy. But *Heeren* (*Ideen* I. 2, p. 173) brings forward, as a very similar counterpart from the modern history of Asia, the description which the Venetian Marco Polo (who travelled in the second part of the thirteenth century) has given of a city, which was built by Kublai Khan, the successor of Jingis Khan, and called by him Taidu. "This city," says he, "is twenty-four [Italian] miles in circumference. No side is longer than another, but each six miles. Round the city runs a wall, which, at the base, is ten paces thick, but narrower at the top. All the streets of the city are built in exact lines ; so that a person standing at one gate of the wall can see the opposite. The sections also for the dwellings are square. In every part are large palaces, surrounded with spacious courts and gardens ; so that the whole city is divided into squares similar to a draft-board. The wall has

* See Vol. I. p. 215.—M.

twelve gates, three on each side; and at each gate is a large and splendid palace, with roomy halls, in which are the arms of the guards. About the city are spacious suburbs, or open places, extending for three or four miles, and joining one another. In these are great caravanserais, where the merchants abide who arrive from different countries, each nation having its own separate one. If we reckon, in addition to this new town, the ancient city (Cambalu, now Peking), beside which it was erected—the imperial residence, which had an immense circuit of its own—and the spacious suburbs and caravanserais—then, as Heeren remarks, Peking, as seen by Marco Polo, was much a larger city than ancient Babylon.

36. See *Gesenius* on the idols of the Chaldæans, in the second part of his *Coment. on Isaiah*, p. 335.

37. See *Volney*, ut antea, Part III. p. 72.

38. The tower thus assumes a pyramidal form, whence *Strabo* calls it a *four-cornered pyramid*, τετραγώνος πυραμίδος τετραγώνος, XVI. 1, 5.

39. These gardens are so described by *Berosus* in *Josephus*, *Antiqq.* X. 11, 1, and *Contr. Apion*, I. 19. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 10, *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 2, and *Quintus Curtius*, V. 1, 32. According to Berosus, they were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, in order to exhibit to his wife, who was a native of Media, an imitation of the mountain landscapes to which she had been accustomed in her own country, but which nature had denied to the flat plains of Babylonia. *Goguet* (*On the Origin of Laws, &c.* Part III. p. 51), holds the accounts given by the ancients of the Babylonian gardens to be fabulous, and for no other reason

than the silence of Herodotus. But the futility of this objection has been ably shewn by *J. F. Roos*, in his *Beiträgen zur Historischen Kritik*, p. 7, et seqq. Perhaps to Herodotus there was nothing in these gardens so singular or striking. There was at Thebes in Egypt, a garden of this kind, of which *Pliny* speaks in his *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI. 14; and in after times the Romans imitated these establishments, by laying out gardens on the tops of their houses. *Seneca* in his *Thyestes*, V. 465, introduces a Greek prince speaking of a *silva culminibus imposita et nutante*;^a and in his 122d Epistle, he exclaims against the *nemora in summis turribus et silvas in tectis domorum ac fastigiis nutantes*. In like manner *Tibullus* (Book III. Eleg. 3, v. 15), expresses displeasure at the *nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos*.

40. *Quintus Curtius* says (v. 1): *Nilil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nec ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt. Babylonii maxime in vinum, et quae ebrietatem sequuntur,*

^a His words are :

“ Non thure colimur ; nec meæ, excluso Jove,
Ornantur aræ ; nulla culminibus meis
Imposita nutat silva.”

Bellermann alludes to similar gardens heated by ovens, placed in subterraneous vaults, and thus preserved green through the winter, in the imperial hermitage at St. Petersburg. *Handbuch*, Vol. III. p. 355.—M.

effusi sunt. Féminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amacula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (honus auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt: nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.

41. The disgusting honours paid to the planet Venus (*Mylytta*, *Anaitis*) are described by Herodotus, I. 199.

42. Both *Herodotus* (I. 191), and *Xenophon* (*Cyrop.* VII. 5), agree in the statement, that Cyrus took Babylon in a night, when the inhabitants, blindly confiding in the supposed impregnability of their city, had, on the occasion of a festival, recklessly given themselves up to banqueting and debauchery. Comp. *Norberg's* *Excidium Babylonis* a Xenophonte illustratum in his *Select. Opp. Academic.* P. III. p. 222. This is conformable to Daniel's narrative (ch. v.) of the death of Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, on the "night that he made a great feast to his lords." According to the accounts of profane historians (see below, Note 141), the king was not in the city at the time of its capture. Cyrus had previously caused the Pallakopas to be drained, which was the canal on the west side of the town, that carried off the superfluous water of the Euphrates into the Lake of Nicotris. He then led the river away in that direction, by which the main channel became so shallow, that his troops thereby penetrated into the city. Several expositors (among others *J. D. Michaelis* and *Eichhorn* in "the Hebrew Prophets," Vol. iii. p. 279), find a distinct prediction of this circumstance by Jeremiah in his

prophetic description of Babylon's overthrow (Jer. li. 31, 32):

Courier runs to meet courier,
And messenger to meet messenger,
To tell the king of Babylon
That his whole city is taken.
The fords are occupied :
The marshy-reed is burned with fire,
And the men of war are struck with affright.

Others,* see a predictive allusion to the festive mirth in which the Babylonians were found, in Isa. xxi. 5. "The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear;" and still more pointedly in Jer. li. 39 :

In their heat I will supply them with drink,
And I will make them drink, that they may exult,
And may sleep an everlasting sleep,
And never wake again—saith Jehovah.

43. According to *Berosus* in Joseph. contra Apion. I. 20. Yet *Herodotus* says, that Cyrus left the walls and gates uninjured. See the next note.

44. *Herodotus* III. 159: Βαβυλῶν μὲν νῦν οὕτω το-
δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρειῶς δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφύων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε, καὶ τὰς πύλας πᾶσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κύρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐποίησε τουτέων οὐδέτερον.

45. XVI. 1, 5.

46. II. 27.

47. Arcad. cap. 33. A history of the gradual de-

* The author (quoting in his support *Gesenius* Comment. on Isaiah, p. 650), denies that there is any thing prophetic in these passages, merely upon the trivial ground that the circumstances might have been foreseen or conjectured.—M.

cay of Babylon has been given by the *Baron de Sainte Croix* in his Dissertation, Sur le Ruine de Babylone pour servir d'éclaircissement au xiii. chap. d'Isaie et au li. de Jeremie, in his Mémoires sur divers sujets inserés dans les Volumes XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. et L. du Recueil de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris, 1808.

48. *Assemani* says in his Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. 725. Babylonis antiquae civitatis vestigia usque ad Theodosii Magni tempora superfuisse, testatur Amrus in vita Kajumae, Seleuciensis Archiepiscopi: hunc enim refert instaurasse Babylonis ecclesiam in lacu Danielis Prophetæ olim excitatam, quam Judæi destruxerant, monachosque ibi collocasse.

49. See *Abulfeda* in Busching's Magazine, Part IV. p. 258.* I here give the words of the original, from the Dresden MS. : بابل وبها القي

ابرهيم الخليل عم في النار وهي اليوم خراب وقد

* This reference is to *Reiske's* Latin Version of *Abulfeda*. The original of the *Tabulæ Iracæ*, &c. has since been published by *Wüstenfeld*, whose Latin version of the above cited passage is as follows: "In urbe Bâbel conjectus est Abraham, cui pax sit! in ignem, hodieque desolata est jamque successit in locum ejus pagus parvus. Dicit Ibn Haucal: Bâbel est pagus parvus, est tamen antiquissimum Iracæ monumentum, totaque hæc provincia ab eo denominata est ob ejus antiquitatem; ibi olim reges Kananæi et alii solebant versari. Sunt ibi radera ædificiorum quæ suspicionem mihi faciunt, fuisse quondam ibi urbem magnam. Dicunt ed-Dahhakum primum fuisse conditorem Bâbeli." *Wüstenfeld's Abulfeda*, p. 15.—M.

صار في موضعها قرية صغيرة قال ابن حوقل وبابل قرية صغيرة الا انها اقدم ابنية العراق ونسب ذلك الاقليم اليها اقدمها وكانت ملوك الكنعانيين وغيرهم يقيمون بها وبها اثار ابنية احسبها كانت في قديم الايام مصرًا عظيمًا ويقال ان الضحاك اول من بنا بابل Babel (here follows the longitude and latitude). Here Abraham, the friend of God, upon whom be peace! was thrown into the fire. At the present day the city lies waste, and on its site there is a small village. Ibn-Haukal says, Babel is a small village, yet it is the oldest place of Irak, and after it, in ancient times, the whole province was named. Here the Canaanitish and other kings used to dwell. There are here the remains of buildings, which, as I conjecture, formed at a remote period, a great metropolis. It is said that Dhohak first built Babel." [The tradition respecting Abraham is, that, refusing to worship idols, he was cast into the fire by order of Nimrod, but came out unscathed]. Dhohak was the fifth king of the first dynasty of Persian monarchs, called the Paishdadians,*

* That is, "the distributors of justice." The first of them was Kaiomurs; the fourth, the famous Jemshid, said to have been dethroned by this Dhohak (written by English historians Zohauk) who was, in his turn, overthrown by the patriotic exertions of the blacksmith Kawah. It is a curious confirmation of these early traditions, that the apron, which is said to have been used by the blacksmith as his ensign, long continued

whose history is wrapt in the obscurity of early fable. He is said to have been by birth an Arabian [accord- to others a Syrian], and is delineated as a ruthless tyrant. The various and somewhat contradictory traditions regarding him, have been collected by *D'Herbelot*, in the article devoted to his name, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

50. Travels, Part I. Letter 17th. Babylon had been previously mentioned by *Maundeville*, in the fourteenth, and by *Rauwolf*, in the sixteenth century ; but neither of them visited the ruins. Of the uncertain and partly fabulous statements of Benjamin of Tudela, we make no account. [Of Babylon in the middle ages, Ker Porter says (Vol. II. p. 336) : “ The style of impossible approach in which it was long considered, when thought of at all, may be gathered from Sir John Maundeville, who travelled over Asia, A. D. 1322. He writes ‘ that Babylone is in the grete desertes of Arabye, upon the waye as men gon towarde the kyngdome of Caldee. But it is fulle longe sithe ony man durste neyhe to the toure ; for it is alle deserte and full of dragons and grete serpentes, and fulle dyverse veneymouse bestes all abouten.’ These impressions remained until the journey thither by *Pietro della Valle*, in the year 1616, which indeed ‘ cast her forth from her grave,’ and re-awakened learned men to a new interest in what Babylon had been, and what it still was ; the antiquarian, rejoicing in the ancient specimens of the arts it might present

to be the Persian standard (under the name of Durufish e Kawanee) until its capture by the Mahometans under the calif Omar. —M.

to his curiosity ; the historian and divine, in the connecting lights its present appearance might throw on history and religion. From succeeding travellers, Père Emanuel, Niebuhr, Beauchamp, &c. we have had accounts of different parts of the remains ; but amongst them all, none seem to have gone so far into the desert as to notice the Birs Nimrod, excepting the two first ; and the one could not approach near enough to make the observations he wished ; while the other observed to so little purpose, ‘ that, if we may judge from the inaccurate description he gives (remarks Mr. Rich), he might as well never have seen it all.’^a As to *Rawwolf*, he mistook for the remains of Babylon, certain ruins near the village of Felugo, or Felujiah, upon the Euphrates, opposite Bagdad.

Rawwolf was a German physician, who travelled in Babylonia, in the year 1574. He says : “ By a small village on the *Euphrates*, called Eulego or Felugo, is the seat of the old Babylon, a day and a half’s journey from Bagdad. The lands about it are so dry and desolate, that one may justly doubt the fertility of it, and the greatness of this city, if the vast ruins still to be seen, did not banish all suspicion. There are still standing some arches of a bridge over the river, which is here half a mile broad, and exceeding deep. These arches are built of bricks, and wonderfully compacted. A quarter of a mile beneath the village, in a plain, are the fallen ruins of a castle, and beyond that, the ruins of the tower of Babel, half a

^a *Beauchamp’s* Memoire sur les Antiquités Babylonniennes appeared in the Journal des Savans for December 1790, p 797.—M.

German mile in compass, which is now a receptacle of serpents and venomous creatures. A little above the fall of the Tigris into the Euphrates, is a city now called Trax, formerly Assamea. All that travel over these plains will find vast numbers of the ruins of very ancient, great, and lofty buildings, arched towers, and other such like structures, of wonderful architecture. There is only one tower, which is called Daniel's, still entire and inhabited, from whence may be seen all the ruins of this once vast city, which sufficiently demonstrate the truth of what ancient writers have said of its greatness, by the vastness of their extent."}]

51. *Rich's Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon.* The third edition appeared at London in 1818. *Porter's* (Sir R. K.) *Travels.* 2 vols. 4to.

52. *Ker Porter* remarks (*Travels*, Vol. II. p. 337): "When we consider that so many centuries have passed, since Babylon became a deserted habitation, and that it yet lay in the neighbourhood of populous nations, our surprise ought to be, not that we find so little of its remains, but that we see so much. From her fallen towers have arisen, not only all the present cities in her vicinity, but others which, like herself, are long ago gone down into the dust. Since the days of Alexander, we find four capitals at least, built out of her remains. Seleucia by the Greeks, Ctesiphon by the Parthians, Al Maidan* by the Persians, Kufa by the Caliphs, with towns, villages, and caravansaries without number. Bagdad too, (had it not most probably completed its walls from a nearer neighbour, the ruins of the city which appears to have occupied

* So in the original of *Ker Porter*; but it ought to be Al Madain, i. e. The Cities.—M.

the tract of Akkarkouff), might, by some trouble, boast its towers from the great parent city also. That the fragments of one city should travel so far to build or repair the breaches of another, on the first view of the subject, appeared unlikely to myself, but on traversing the country between the approximating shores of the two rivers, and observing all the facilities of water carriage from one side to the other, I could no longer be incredulous of what had been told me; particularly when scarce a day passed without my seeing people digging the mounds of Babylon for bricks, which they carried to the verge of the Euphrates, and thence conveyed in boats to wherever they might be wanted. From the consequent excavations in every possible shape and direction, the regular lines of the original ruins have been so broken, that nothing but confusion is seen to exist between one course and another, when any traveller would attempt seeking a distinct plain amongst those eternally traversing minor heaps, hollows and ravines. But certain huge and rugged masses yet stand pre-eminent; which, by their situation and other local circumstances, seem sufficiently to warrant the conclusions which have been drawn of their original purpose. These vaster mounds are surrounded by subordinate ranges, now bearing the appearance of embankments, and which, doubtless, have been the cause of the interior pile's comparatively unimpaired state. The yearly overflowing of the whole country, from the decay of the canals made to draw off the superflux of the river, having for ages swept unimpeded over the faces of all the ruins which had not the protection of these—I may call them

break-waters, could not fail producing the devastation we see. All such exposed parts of the city, must necessarily 'be thrown down into wider and more shapeless ruins, and be gradually washed down into lower and lower hillocks, till, in most places, all traces would be entirely swept away."

53. "The natives call it Mukallibé (مقلبة), or, according to the vulgar Arab pronunciation of these parts *Mujelibè*, meaning *overturned*." Rich in his *Memoir. Ker Porter* (Vol. II. p. 339), writes *Macloubé*, which has the same meaning. In *Abulfeda* (Tab. Syriæ p. 12), the country round the Dead Sea is called الارض المقلوبة *the overturned, destroyed land*.

54. *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 346.

55. *Herodotus*, I. 181. Berosus in *Joseph. Ant.* X. 11, 1. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 8.

56. ^{قصر} القصر.

57. ^{عش} اشل, اثل. It means properly *a tamarisk*, but is also used of other similar trees.

58. *Travels*, II. p. 312. [His words are: "The cement which holds the bricks together, that compose the ruin on the summit of the Birs, is so hard that my most violent attempts could not separate them. Hence I failed in discovering whether these bore any inscriptive stamps on their surface; marks invariably found, where they exist at all, on the side of the bricks which faces downwards. Why they were so placed, we cannot guess; but so it is in all primitive remains of ancient Babylonia; but in the more mo-

dern structures of Bagdad, Hillah, and other places erected out of her spoils, these inscribed bricks are seen facing in all directions. While on the summit of the Birs, I examined many of the fine brick fragments, which lay near the foot of the piece of standing wall, to see whether bitumen had been used any where in their adhesion, but I could not trace the smallest bit. The cement throughout was lime, spread in a very thin layer, not thicker than a quarter of an inch between each brick and its neighbour; and thin as this cement was laid, it contained a spreading of straw through the midst of it.”]

59. “ Other remains of Babylon are to be seen, a German mile and a quarter south-west of Helle (Hillah), on the west bank of the Euphrates. Here is an entire hill composed of the beautiful bricks formerly mentioned, and on the top stands a tower, the interior of which seems to have been built of these burnt bricks—the outer walls are decayed through time. It is perforated with a number of holes, which had probably been opened for the free circulation of air and the prevention of damp. At the period when Babylon was in its glory, and the surrounding country in a state of high cultivation, this tower must have afforded an excellent prospect on all sides; for Mesched Ali seems to lie at its foot, though it be at least six leagues distant. I had seen this tower or heap of stones on my first journey to Helle, when I took it for an ancient watch-tower. My attendants called it *Birs Nimrod*, and related that a king of that name had built here a large and splendid palace; that when it

thundered, he shot up arrows into the air as if warring with God; that he boasted of having wounded God, shewing a bloody arrow which had fallen down from the sky; that God had punished him with insects, which proved so dreadful an annoyance, that he could find no rest in his palace, and was at last killed by them, &c.* In Helle I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with any Mahomedan doctors except the Cadi, and he knew nothing more than the popular story. But after I had read what Herodotus says (Book I. § 170) of the temple of Belus and its strong tower, I thought it highly probable that this might be the remains of it, and am therefore anxious that some succeeding traveller should accurately examine and describe it. I made the journey thither, accompanied only by a single guide, and I had seen but a little of the monument, when I perceived some Arabs reconnoitring us, and deemed it safest to ride back to the town. Had I supposed I was so near the Tower of Babylon, I should certainly have risked more for a closer survey." *Niebuhr's Travels*, (Ger.) Vol. I. p. 289.

60. A positive proof of the temple of Belus having been on the west bank of the river is adduced by *Ker Porter*. [The following is his statement of it: "I am aware of the commonly received opinion, that this celebrated temple stood on the eastern side of the river; arising, rather unreasonably it might seem, from the evidence of only one classic writer, and Diodorus Siculus that writer, who had never been near the remains of the city, and who,

* These, and other traditions respecting Nimrod, will be found in *D'Herbelot*, in the article *Nimrod*.—M.

in other respects, has been shewn an inaccurate collector of facts; while neither Herodotus, who had been on the very spot, nor any other ancient author on the subject, say one word decisive on the matter. But modern commentators appear to have something more than a single testimony to maintain the argument with them; they can support the temple of Belus on the eastern shore by the ocular evidences of those travellers who, though visiting Babylon, had never seen Birs Nimrood; and taking it for granted, from the apparent long level of the opposite shore, that no considerable ruins could be there, they at once embrace the single assertion of Diodorus, and in harmony with it, pronounced the huge mass of Mujelibé to be that of Babel and Jupiter Belus: the palace they cannot fail recognising; and thus, in fact, all the greatest objects of a city, which covered nearly fifty miles of ground, are crushed up into the comparatively narrow space which had only formed the acropolis of its palace. But since the judicious investigation of the Birs Nimrood by Mr. Rich, and the conclusions he thence draws in favour of its claim to the honours of the great temple, it appears to me that unprejudiced opinion must change to his view of the argument; and one inference in support of the temple having been in the western division of the town, and hence on this side of the Euphrates, I would deduce from a circumstance (which I am aware has been quoted to a different conclusion) that took place when Babylon was taken by Darius Hystaspes, through the treachery of Zopyrus, who opened the Belidian and Cissian (or Susa) gates, to admit the Persian soldiers. The

gates were near to each other, that is, on the same side of the town ; and the Cissian or Susa gate, pointing to the celebrated Persian capital of that name, proves that the army entered from the east. In the tumult of this surprise, the Babylonians fled and took refuge in the temple of Belus.

It is now generally acknowledged by all who study oriental subjects, that it was an ancient custom in the East (and the practice remains to this day), to name the gates of a city, not from objects within the walls, but from outward places to which they led. Had the alarmed Babylonians fled through the Belidian gate to the temple of Belus (which some writers would infer), the fugitives must have ran on the very pikes of the entering Persians. This being an impossibility to suppose, the Belidian gate could not have received its name from the temple ; but, according to Mr. Rich's suggestion, most probably from some now forgotten town, eastward of the city. Hence the natural fact appears to have been this : that the people, finding the eastern gates possessed by the enemy, and the invaders pressing forward to make themselves masters of the castellated palace on that side, would instinctively seek shelter in the strongest and most distant places they could reach in any time to escape the enemy ; and what so apparent as the temple of Belus, on the opposite shore of the river, (a safeguard in itself!) and situated in the furthest western extremity of the city ; and which was also doubly fortified by its brazen gates, and lofty walls ? Besides, had this temple been any where in the eastern quarter, the people would rather have avoided than fled to it ; it being one of the first places, in such a case, to which

the Persian soldiers would have hurried, for the plunder of its treasury. Porter's Trav. Vol. II. p. 383.]

The ancient traditions preserved by the people of the country, in reference to this group of ruins, and the fact of the Birs still presenting visible traces of a tower, consisting of different stories rising on one another, are confirmatory evidences to the same effect. Some travellers have confounded this tower on the south-west bank of the Euphrates, with another ruin of a similar name, which stands on the height of Akkerkoof, two leagues and a half north-west of Bagdad, and not far from the Tigris. See *Niebuhr's Travels*, Part II. p. 305. *Ker Porter*, who gives a description and drawing of this ruin (Vol. II. p. 275, Plate 68), remarks that it is called by the Arabs, *Tell-Nimroud*, and by the Turks, *Nemroud Tepassé*, which both signify "Nimrod's Hill." But it is described under the name of Nimrod's *Tower* by *Ives* in his Travels, Part II, and by *Olivier* in his Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 397, et seqq.

[On a question which has excited so much interest as the site of the Tower of Babel, it may be useful to the student to have the opinions of such a man as Heeren of Göttingen. This learned and judicious writer, after giving an account of the appearance of the ruins from recent travellers, arrives at the following general conclusions, which are here presented in a condensed form.

First. The accounts given by the ancients, and especially by Herodotus, respecting the extent and situation of ancient Babylon, seem to be confirmed by the investigations of the moderns, quite as much as

could be expected, considering the nature of the ruins. The length of ancient Babylon, from north to south, may be estimated at twelve miles.

Secondly. It is not only proved from the most recent investigations, that ancient Babylon was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the course of this river has undergone no important change; but it also becomes highly probable, that the *western* part of the city, the existence of which has been doubted, was the largest.

Thirdly. Sir R. K. Porter is correct in considering the western quarter of the city as the most ancient.

Fourthly. The tower of Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, which, therefore, was in the *western* quarter of the city, and not in the eastern, as was formerly believed. For the Birs Nimrod corresponds to the ancient temple *in form*;—of the eight stories which it originally had, three can still be made out. It corresponds in *dimensions*, for its length and breadth agrees with what is stated by Herodotus, so far as they can be determined from a mountain heap of ruins. It corresponds, finally, with the statement of the same historian, that this pyramidal sanctuary stood within a quadrangular enclosure, the remains of which are still clearly to be traced. It is nowhere said that the temple of Bel was erected in the eastern quarter of the city: but only that it stood in the midst of one quarter.

Fifthly. If the Birs Nimrod be the ancient temple of Bel, then it must be admitted that it belongs to the oldest ruins of Babylon; or rather, that it is *the* oldest. There seems nothing to oppose to this fact,

while all seems to speak in favour of its being the remains of that primæval building, erected by the assembly of nations, whose top should reach to heaven, but whose completion was prevented by Jehovah. It may be assumed that its site was westward of the stream, because it was built by the descendants of Noah, when they were journeying from west to east. "As they now journeyed towards the east,"^a it is said "they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt therein." It was built of the same material as that of which the ruin consists. There is no reason why so mighty a building should have been entirely swept from the earth, in so dry and favourable a climate, where so many smaller have been preserved. Its preservation seems, in some measure, accounted for, from its having been, after the adoption of the worship of the stars, the temple of the national deity; (whether, as I believe, the sun, or, as some others think, the planet Jupiter^b;) and, likewise, the astrological sanctuary. It is almost needless to add, that this supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions, aggrandisement, and embellishments which it afterwards received, and which were again, in the course of centuries, reduced to ruins. Neither can any thing be argued against its high antiquity from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. The only question here is respecting the original foundation—the first and mightiest that the hand of man erected; and

^a In the Eng. Vers. it is "from the east."

^b *Gesenius* on Isaiah, Vol. ii. p. 395.

what higher confirmation can there be of the most ancient record we possess, than the existence of the most ancient monuments mentioned by its inspired author?

Sixthly. Modern investigations confirm also the particulars respecting the two royal palaces in Babylon; for, besides the remains of the eastern, Porter seems to have discovered vestiges of the western also.

Seventhly. The eastern quarter of the city was the later, but, probably, the most magnificent. It was the city of the Chaldæans, where Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar reigned, and erected their royal dwellings. It was from the battlements of the palace (al Kasr,) that Nebuchadnezzar was gazing upon that royal Babel, which he had built as a witness of his power, when he was struck with the punishment of his haughty pride! Through those gates Cyrus and Alexander once triumphantly entered into Babylon! In those halls they dwelt; and here the Macedonian hero breathed his last! *Heeren's Researches on Asiatic Nations.* Vol. ii. p. 178, et seqq.

61. *Theodotion* writes Δειρά, having, probably, read דירא instead of דורא. Or, perhaps, he thought of the plain of Deira in Susiana, mentioned by Ptolemy, (vi. 3.) Πεδίον Δειρά μεταξὺ τῆς Χαλβαπήτιδος καὶ τῆς Κισσίας. The Alexandrian translator has rendered דורא by περιβολον. He took the word for an appellative, in the sense of the Arabic, ^{صو-}دور, *a circle* or *round enclosure*. St Jerome says in his Com-

ment, in loc.: pro Dura LXX. περίβολον transtulerunt, quod nos *vivarium* vel *conclusum locum* dicere possumus. דורא seems also to have been regarded as an appellative by the author of the Greek version in St. Mark's Library at Venice, edited by Villoison; for he has ἐν πεδίῳ πρήσεως, *in the plain of burning*. Perhaps he connected it with the Hebrew דור, which is used in Ezek. xxiv. 5, of a round pile heaped up for burning. [Comp. Taylor's Fragments to Calmet, No. 150, 595.]

62. In the Talmudic Tract Sanhedrin, (Fol. 92, col. 2), it is said, that the Plain of Dura extended from the river Eshel to the city Rabbath, מנהר אשל עד רבת בקעת דורא; but these localities are now quite unknown. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions (xxv. 6. 9,) a city of Dura on the Tigris, and (xxiii. 5. 8; xxiv. 1. 5,) another city of the same name in Mesopotamia; but neither of these is to be thought of here.

63. ארך. The name signifies *length*.

64. *Jerome* says in the Quaestt. Hebr. on Gen. i. 10: "Regnavit autem (Nimrod) et in Arach, hoc est, in Edissa."

65. It was called after the Macedonian city of the same name, the seat of the ancient kings of Macedonia. See *Cellarius*, Not. Orb. Ant. Tom. I. p. 833.

66. Καλλιρρόη, *the fine-flowing*—so called on account of a famous fountain in the neighbourhood. From this Greek name, the modern Syriac ܠܪܗܐ *Urhoi*, and the Arabic الرها *Erroha* appear to have

then have been a kingdom in which there were cities lying from 300 to 400 miles distant from each other."

70. The *Ἀγχαα* of *Ptolemy*, vi. 3. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, (xxiii. 6. 26): His tractibus (Chaldaeorum) Susiani, apud quos non multa sunt oppida; inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regium et Arsiana, et Sele, et *Aracha*. *Schulthess*, in his work on "Paradise," (p. 112), adheres to Bochart's opinion.

71. I. 185, and VI. 119. *Bochart* says, (loc. cit. p. 268:) Ardericae nomen Persas conflasse putamus ex ארר *ard* et ארך *Erec*. *Ard* Persice magnum sonat, ut probavimus in Capite de *Sabtha*.

72. ארכיא.

73. *Ptolemy* loc. cit. Comp. *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. ii. p. 418.

74. אכר. *Simonis* conjectures, (*Onomast. Vet. Test.* p. 276,) that this name is derived from אכרת (like לית from לרת, אדחת from אדורת,) and signifies a chain or fetter, after the analogy of the Arabic ⁻⁻⁻أكد *to bind fast*; so that it would denote a city or fortress erected for the purpose of restraining and keeping in check a conquered people. A city founded by Assur, (Gen. x. 12,) had a name of similar import, רסן, *Resen*. But to *bind* may rather have the sense of *to strengthen*. Thus the Persians call the walls of a town شهر بند *Shahri-bend*, i. e. the bond of (or what binds) a city.

75. 'Αρχάδ.

76. Thus קרמש for קרמשק. Comp. *Gesenius* *Lehrgeb.* p. 131 et seqq.

77. De Animal. xvi. 42. Κτησίας γε μὲν ὁ Κνίδιος λέγει, περὶ τὴν Περσικὴν Σιττάκην ποταμὸν εἶναι, Ἀργάδην ὄνομα.

78. Loc. cit. p. 269. χ et γ literæ sunt tam sono vicinæ, quam forma, unde est quod facile permutantur. Hinc pro *Chobare Gobares* in Plinio, et ex χαλβάνη fit *galbanum*, ex ἄγχο *ungo*, *unguis* ἀπὸ τῆς ὄνυχος. Quin et Chaldæis כ et ג literæ sunt promiscuæ, ut videre est in כף et גף *littus*, כומצא et גומצא *fossa*, כנפא et גנפא *ala*. Sic videntur idem esse *Archad* et *Argad*, unde nomen *Argadi* fluvio. Ita ut ab *Archad* vel *Argad* oppido dictus fuerit *Argades* fluvius, quomodo apud Ptolemæum a *Chabora* et *Singa* oppidis, nomen habent *Chaboras* et *Singas*, fluvii qui in Euphratem exeunt.

79. אכר. So the Syriac translator has ܐܚܪ Comp. note 81.

80. According to *Ephrem* [Syrus] in his Comm. in loc. Comp. *Assemani* *Bibl. Orient.* under "Nisibis." נציבין signifies military frontier posts, *præsidia*.

81. De Situ et Nominibus locor. Hebraicor. in Genesi: *Achad*, urbs regni Nimrod in Babylone. Porro Hebræi hanc esse dicunt Mesopotamiæ civitatem, quæ hodie vocatur Nisibi, a Lucullo quondam Romano Consule obsessam captamque, et ante paucos annos a Joviano Imperatore Persis traditam. נציבין also stands for אכר in the Jerusalem Targum and in the Targum of Jonathan, and hence it is probable these translators had read אכר.

82. *Schulthess* conjectures (*Das Paradies*, p. 113), that Achar became the Agra, marked by Ptolemy as lying on the Tigris in long. $80\frac{1}{2}$, lat. $33^{\circ} 45'$.

83. בלנר. *Simonis* (in his *Onomast.* p. 469) thinks this name composed of בלא, *an inclosure, a fortress*, and נרד, *a dwelling*; so that the whole would denote *a strong habitation, a fortified place*.

84. בלנו. As to the different modes of writing the name of this town, see *J. D. Michaelis*, *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exteræ*, Part I. p. 228.

85. בנה.

86. In the Jerusalem Targum at Gen. x. 10, there is, instead of בלנר, the name קטספון. *Jerome* says, in his *Quæstt. in Genes.* at this place: *Chalanne*, quæ postea verso nomine a Seleuco rege est dicta Seleucia, vel certe, quæ nunc Κτησιφών appellatur. Here he hesitates between the two cities which lay opposite each other on the Tigris. But he expressly says in his *Comment.* at Amos vi. 2: *Transite omnes in Chalane*, quæ nunc appellatur Ctesiphon. This city was on the left bank of the Tigris. See *Assemani's* *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 622, et seqq. Ctesiphon was the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 405. That the tower of Babel was near Chalneh, is an opinion to be found in some of the Greek fathers, and also in *Jerome*. It arose from the false translation given in the Septuagint, of Isa. x. 9, [see the present volume, p. 31] respecting the cause of which, consult *Bochart*, *Geog. Sac.* P. I. Lib. I. cap. ix.

87. *Pliny* says (*Hist. Nat.* VI. 26.): Ad hanc (Babylonem) exhaustiendam Ctesiphontem juxta ter-

tiam ab ea lapidem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi, quod nunc caput est regnorum. And cap. 27 : Jungitur Chalonitis. Ad eam venit Zagros mons ex Armenia inter Medos Adiabenosque veniens, supra Paractacenem et Persidem. *Mannert*, however (p. 463), followed by *Vater* (Comment. on the Pentateuch, P. I. p. 125), thinks that Pliny is in error, and has assigned to the district of Chalonitis too great an extent towards the south ; for *Isidor of Charax* (who wrote his *Στρατιμὸς Παρδικῶν* in the first half of the first century) mentions that the province in question comprised the north-eastern continuation of Apolloniatis, as far as the mountain and pass of Zagros, which separated it from Media ; and he fixes its entire length at twenty-one Schoeni, i. e. fifteen geographical miles. Yet it is well known how fluctuating and uncertain the boundaries of countries were among the ancients ; and it is quite possible that, at an earlier period, Chalonitis had a much greater extent. *Polybius* (V. 44) calls this province *Καλωνίτις*.

88. XXIII. 6. 23. Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes *priseis* temporibus instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus incolarum viribus amplificatam et mœnibus, Græco indito nomine, Persidis effecit specimen summum ; post hæc Seleucia, ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci. But *Valesius* remarks on this passage, that the name Ctesiphon is more ancient than the age of Pacorus, and had been mentioned by Polybius, V. 44. [See the last note.]

89. *Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 113), takes the Chalneh of Gen. x. 10, for Chala, which, according

to Isidor, was the capital of the Chalonitis, and is by Diodorus Siculus (XVII. 110,) called Kelōnæ (Κέλωναί.) *Mannert* (p. 463) thinks it may be the modern Holvān or Halvān (حلوان), the last town on the northern border of Irak Arabi. And *Schulthess* farther supposes the Chalne or Chelno of Isa. x. 9, and Amos vi. 2, to have been another city, namely *Chalcis*, the capital of the Syrian province of Chalcidice (Chalkidike), near the Orontes, where Kinnesrin now stands.

90. المداین. *Abulfeda* says, in his Description of Irak (*Büsching's Magazin*, Vol. v. p. 259,) that this city lay to the south-east, below Bagdad, at the distance of a day's journey, and was formerly called *Thaisafun*, in place of which the Dresden MS. reads طيقسون. That this name was formed from Ctesiphon, can admit of no doubt. *Abulfeda* mentions two other names of this town, viz.

رومية المداین *Rumiyat-el-Madain*, i. e. Rome of the cities, and اشبان *Ishbān*;* and adds, that on the west bank of the Tigris stood a city called سابات المداین *Sabat-el-Madain*. *Ker Porter* (Vol. ii. p. 408, et seqq.) incorrectly spells the name of this city Al-Maidan. That would be writ-

* In *Wustenfeld's Edit.* of *Abulfeda's Irāk-Arabi*, I find this written *Eschbelun*; and it is said that beside *Sābāt-el-Mādāin* was a city called *Nahr-Shīr*.—M.

٤ - ٥ - ٦
 ten الميدان, the race-course, *il Corso*. The proper orthography is El-Madāin.

91. ايوان كسرو, طاق كسري. *Ibn-el-Wardi* says in his Description of Irak (I quote from the hitherto unpublished Dresden MS.), المدائين هي مدينة عظيمة قديمة جاهلية وبها اثارها بلد وبها ايوان كسري المضروب به المثل في العظم والمساحة والارتفاع ولاتقان واقليمها يعرف بارض بابل "El Madain is a large, ancient city, built in the times of heathenism, in which are still the ruins of the ancient city, and the palace of the emperor. The latter is used as a proverb to describe any thing great, spacious, lofty and strong. The district in which this city lies, is called the land of Babel." *Abulfeda* likewise (*ibid.*) mentions the Ivan Kesra, [*i. e.* the palace of Chosroes], and says, that according to a credible account, the width, from one corner to another, is ninety-five ells.* *Niebuhr* remarks (*Travels*, Part II. p. 305): "El-Madeyen, a once splendid city, which was the residence of the Persian kings till some years after the death of Mahomet, lay about four leagues to the south-east of Bagdad, upon the Tigris. The only remains of it are part of a large palace, called *Tacht Kisra*, *i. e.* the palace (or throne تخت) of Kosru. This

* The height he states at eighty ells.—M.

building is constructed of burnt bricks and lime ; there is no inscription on it. As I had not an opportunity of visiting it in person, I shall only report what I heard from a European merchant—namely, that one who had measured the entrance to this palace in his presence, found it ninety-eight feet wide, and one hundred and ten feet high. The dimensions of the building itself, therefore, must have been very great.” The ruin is more minutely described by Ives, by whom it was examined in the year 1758. “ Neither Turks nor Arabs,” says he, (*Travels*, Part II.) “ are able to afford any correct information concerning this ruin ; they cannot even determine whether it has belonged to a palace or a temple. The bishop (Emanuel of Babylon) told us, that according to the common opinion it had formerly been a temple dedicated to the sun. In confirmation of this, they point out various openings in the arch, which they suppose may have been occupied by lamps ; but it appeared to us, that they were rather designed for the admission of fresh air. The east side of the building is 300 feet long ; the breadth of the arch is 85 feet, and the height 106. The length of the interior covered space of the arch, from east to west, is 150 feet ; the niches in the sides of the building somewhat resemble those of our ancient abbeys. The back and the west side are completely fallen in. At a considerable distance from the arch, and in all directions, we found the ruins of very extensive buildings, but so much dilapidated, that no appearance of a wall is now to be discovered. Yet bricks and mortar lie scattered in such quantities around, that it can-

not be doubted that a city must formerly have stood here a mile in circuit ; and from the ancient accounts we possess of the site and size of Ctesiphon, it is highly probable that this is the very spot where that once magnificent and mighty city stood." This had been conjectured 142 years before the visit of Ives, by the learned Italian traveller Della Valle, who was in this country in the year 1616. The remains of the palace appear to have been more extensive than at the present day ; for he remarks (Travels, Part I. Letter 18): " The Aiwan Kesrau is a large building of sun-burnt bricks, cemented with good mortar. The walls are very thick. The front looks to the east, and is adorned throughout with thousands of ornaments made of these bricks. The length of this side comprises 114 of my paces. This building appears to have consisted of three divisions or courts. But the only one still remaining is the middle court, which I found 62 paces long and 33 wide. There is no large gate in the centre, but all is quite open, so that the sky is seen overhead, which has led the inhabitants to call the whole by the name of ' The Arch,' in allusion to the firmament or ' vault of heaven,' that seems to form the canopy. Two small doors lead from this middle court into two side wings of the building, but they are completely in ruins."^a

^a Rich gives the dimensions as follows :	Feet.
Length of the Front,	284
Width of the Arch at the bottom,	82
Height of the Arch,	101
Thickness of the wall at the ground,	19
Depth or length of the Hall,	153

Mr. Rich was very much struck with the resemblance of

92. כורת and כורת (v. 30).

93^a. In his description of Babylonian Irak, where he calls the name of the city *کوتی*. *Michaelis* gives the passage in his Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. p. 1256, taken from his abstract of the Paris MS.

93^b. In *Hyde's* Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum, p. 39, 70, 71, where the name of the city is written *کوٹا* and *کوٹي*. According to the Persian annalist *Tabari*, there cited, *کوٹي* was likewise the name of a king of Babel or Irak, who lived in the time of Abraham, and constructed the *King's Canal*, which united the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris.

93^c. *Elias Levita* says, in his Dictionary called *רבותינו זל קראו* (p. 157 of the Edit. of Fagius), לשומרונים כותיים שבאים מכותה ונו, *i. e.* our Rabbins of blessed memory call the Samaritans Cuthæans, as they came out of Cuthæa, etc. Comp. *Josephus*, Ant. IX. 14. 3.

94. *אריך-כנען*. On the extensive commerce of the Babylonians, in its various branches, see *Heeren's* Ideen, B. I. Div. 2, p. 185, et seqq. [The more important particulars I have embodied in the text.]

95. *אדרת שנער*.

96. I. 195.

97. See *Ideler* on the Astronomy of the Chaldæans, in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1814 and 1815, (Berlin, 1818), p.

the church of the Monastery of Mar Elias, near Mosul, to the *Tauk Kesra*. Residence in Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 116, 404.—M.

200, et seqq. In this Dissertation, it is shown, that in reference to the most ancient eclipses of the moon, which Ptolemy gives from the observations of the Chaldæans, modern observations for the most part differ from the ancient only in respect of minutes. We have before remarked, that the tower of Belus, which lay towards the four cardinal points, was very probably used as an astronomical observatory.

98. חכמים, חכמיין, Isa. xlv. 25; Jerem. l. 35; Dan. ii. 12. 18. 24. 27; iv. 3. 15; v. 7. 8.

99. כשדים, כשדיא, Dan. ii. 4. 5. 8. *Χαλδαίοι* is the name given to the priests of Belus at Babylon by Herodotus, I. 183. Comp. *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Part II. p. 797. *Herder* (in his Philosophy of the History of Mankind, Vol. III. p. 72), thinks the Magi formed in Babylonia, from the first, a separate order of the state, and, on the conquest of the country by the Chaldæans, flattered the conquerors by assuming their name. They became court philosophers, and degraded themselves by every species of imposture and sycophancy. *Munter* likewise (*Antiquarian Dissertations*, p. 144) is of opinion, that the priests of the conquered nation, the Babylonian, obtained, by their superior knowledge and culture, a complete influence over the conquerors; and having gradually succeeded in amalgamating the two races, nothing remained of the original difference, but that the priests, the reigning *caste*, appropriated to themselves the name of the conquerors—"Casdim," or Chaldæans. *Cicero* says (*De Divinat.* I. 1.): Qua in (*Assyriorum*) natione Chaldaei non ex *artis*, sed ex *gentis* vocabulo nominati, diuturna observatione

siderum, scientiam putantur effecisse, ut praedici posset, quid cuique eventurum, et quo quisque fato natus esset.

100. רַב־מַּג. The second of these words is no doubt the same as **مغ**, which occurs in modern Persian writings, and denotes a *Magian*, a priest of the fire-worshippers. According to a Persian author quoted by *Hyde* (de Vet. Pers. Relig. cap. 30, p. 369 of the second edit.), **موبد** Mubad is an abbreviation of **مغ بد** Mogh-bad, and signifies a president of the Magi, and is thus of equivalent meaning with רַב־מַּג. *Kleuker* thinks (Zend-Avesta, Part III. p. 225, note 9), that Magus is the same with *Meh*,^a pronounced *Megh*; it signifies *great, excellent*, and was, like Mehestan, a general name for the disciples of Zoroaster. But as Nebuchadnezzar, who had a chief of the Magi along with him, was no follower of the religion of Zoroaster, the word must pertain to a more ancient worship; in all probability the ancient Median. For Herodotus mentions (I. 101.) among the tribes or castes of Media, the *Máγoi* (Magi); and that they had to do with the interpretation of dreams, appears from the circumstance of Herodotus having mentioned, in the same book (cap. 107, 120), that Astyages had employed some of them in that very business. Other conjectures on this name may be found in *Reland's* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Persar. in the second part of his Dissertt.

^a So in Sanscrit, *Maha*, great.—M.

Miscell. p. 188. The *Máyo* mentioned in Matt. ii. 1, were eastern astronomers; but the Magian, Elymas, who is mentioned in Acts xiii. 8, was a man given to soothsaying and other secret arts. See *Lackemacher* de Judaeorum Magis horumque arte, speciatim de Elyma Mago, in his *Observatt. Philologg.* P. II. p. 126, et seqq. Besides the רב-מג, we also find notice taken of a רב-סגנן על חכמי בבל, chief president of the Babylonian wise men or Magians. Dan. ii. 48.

101. Conjectures on this point will be met with in *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, Append. II., on the Religion and Astrology of the Chaldæans, p. 349, 355. Comp. *Bleek* on the Author and Design of the Book of Daniel, in the *Theological Journal*, edited by Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Lücke, Heft III. p. 226.

102. הברי שמים החזים בכוכבים. The philological explanations of these terms will be found in my *Scholia* in loc., with which the reader may compare *Gesenius* in loc. cit. p. 354.

103. מכשפים conjurers or exorcists, חרטמים soothsayers, casters of nativities, חרטמים those who had the knowledge of secret writings, כשרים Chaldæans. See on these designations *Gesenius*, loc. cit., p. 365, and *Bertholdt's* Third Excursus to his Translation and Exposition of the Book of Daniel: "On the Institute of the Magi in Babylon," p. 835, et seqq.

104. The latter seems the more probable opinion to *Bleek*, loc. cit., p. 225.

105. See *Adelung's* *Mithridates*, Part I. p. 327.

106. See *Matt. Norberg's* Selecta Opuscula Acad. Tom. III. p. 168. *Lorsbach's* Archives for Biblical and Eastern Literat. Vol. II. p. 236, et seqq. *Note*; and *Gesenius' Hist. of the Hebrew Lang. and Literature*, p. 63.

107. See *Gesenius*, loc. cit., p. 142.

108. See *Munter* on several inscriptions recently found in the Ruins of Babylon, in his Antiquarian Dissert. (Copenhagen, 1816), p. 118, et seqq., especially p. 142. The same learned writer has treated of the cuneiform characters generally, in his Essay on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis, Copenhagen. 1802. Comp. also *Grotefend's* Dissert. in Heeren's Researches, Part I., Div. 1, p. 563. The most complete account of works that have appeared on this subject, is in *Hartmann's* Tychsen, Part II., Div. 3, p. 48.^a

109. See *Koppe's* Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit. Vol. II. p. 151, 154.

110. Cush, as we saw, denotes the lands of the South. See Vol. I. p. 80.

111. Quum scriptores ethnicos constet gesta Nimrodi patris referre ad Ninum filium, et illius uxorem Semiramidem; non temere praetereundum est quod in Diodoro (L. II. Cap. 1.) habetur, Ninum Arabum exercitum sibi comparasse, et ope regis Arabiae Babylonios subegisse. Nempe Nimrod erat Chusæus, id est Arabs, et concivium suorum ope ad

^a Comp. the "Mémoire relatif aux Antiques Inscriptions," read by the late Saint Martin to the Académie des Inscriptions, and published in the Journal Asiatique for February 1823.—M.

imperium evectus est. *Bochart*, Geogr. S. P. I. L. IV. Cap. 12, p. 257. In like manner, a horde, (the Lachmites), who migrated from Arabia at the close of a long war, founded the kingdom of Hira on the banks of the Euphrates, in the third century of our era. See their history by *Eichhorn*, in the *Fundgruben des Orients*. Vol. III. p. 360. The period at which Nimrod came into the land of Shinar is not specified. For though the account of him occurs previous to the narrative of the erection of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, we are not thence to conclude, that the foundation of Nimrod's kingdom on the Euphrates was prior to these events. The notice concerning him is only incidentally introduced into the genealogical table in the tenth chapter; yet nothing is, from that circumstance, to be inferred respecting the chronological order of the history. See Th. J. *Ditmar's* Accounts of the Condition of Canaan, Arabia and Mesopotamia, in the most ancient times, p. 82, et seqq.

112. The Hebrew expression לפני יהודה is ambiguous. It may signify: *against Jehovah* (comp. Num. xvi. 2; 1 Chron. xiv. 8); or, *with the help of Jehovah* (Num. xxxii. 21, 22, 27). In the above passage about Nimrod (Gen. x. 9), the expression is to be regarded as emphatic or intensive, q. d. "even in the eyes of God;" just as in Jon. iii. 3. Nineveh is called עיר גדולה לאלהים *a great city before God*; and in Acts vii. 20, Moses is called ἀστέρας ὡς ὥ.

113. "Before war began to rage among men, the proper work of heroes was the hunting of wild beasts.

This was prosecuted by extensive bands of hunters, who would be led on by the bravest, that is, by the individual who, by his talent and daring, acquired a natural superiority over the rest. The exploits performed took their name from him, and that circumstance would attract many to join his company." *Schiller* on the First Human Society, in his Minor Prose Writings (Leips. 1792, p. 379, et seqq.)—where he beautifully illustrates the manner in which a hunter would become the first king. Thus, too, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, loc. cit. Ninus rose from being a hunter to be king. See *Bochart*, loc. cit., p. 258. *Herder* thinks (Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry, Part I. p. 258) that a mighty hunter means a powerful despot, an oppressor of men through skill and power; and he connects the story of Nimrod with the account of the Tower of Babel, thinking the whole designed as a reproach upon Babylon. But this is a view which I can by no means embrace.

114. This seems confirmed by the Hebrew word itself נמרד from מרד to *fall away, to withdraw allegiance from a ruler, to rebel*. "Certum est נמרד fuisse *vituperii* nomen, *rebellem* contra Deum et *contumacem* notans, quod itaque ab inimicis, non autem a suis, impositum quisque credat," says *Hyde*, Hist. Religion. Vet. Pers. Cap. II. p. 36. The form of the Hebrew name is peculiar. *Perizonius* (Origines Babylon. Cap. VIII. p. 122) takes it for the first person plural of the future, and thinks, "hominem hunc, utpote venatorem ferocem et sodalium comitatu succinctum, semper in ore habuisse et ingeminasse, ad reliquos in rebellionem excitandos, illud נמרד נמרד

rebellemus ! rebellemus !" According to the opinion of *Simonis* (Onomastic. Vet. Test., p. 472), נמרד is composed of נין posterity and מרד; so that מרד נין denoted *filius rebellionis*; and נין has been preserved in the name Ninus. גבור likewise is sometimes used in a bad sense, to express a mighty oppressor, e. g.

Ps. lii. 5; cxx. 4; so the Arabic جبار. The Arabic words جبار في الارض which literally correspond

to the Hebrew expression גבר בארץ used of Nimrod in Gen. x. 8, signify in the Koran, Sur. xxviii. 18, a powerful despot, an oppressor.

115. In the same light is Nimrod represented by *Josephus*, Antiq. I. 4, 2, as having prevailed upon men not to expect what was necessary for their welfare from God, but to procure it by the strength of their own arm; as having, upon the supposition that God would destroy mankind by a new flood, begun to build a high tower in order to assail him in the clouds, etc. The other eastern traditions respecting Nimrod are given at length by *D'Herbelot* in his Biblioth. Orient. under the article Nimrod; a supplement to which, from Persian writers, has been furnished by *Ouseley* in the Oriental Collections, Vol. II. p. 375. Connected with this tradition, is the circumstance that the constellation, which the Greeks called Orion, was by the Jews termed גבור *the giant*, and כסיל *the fool*, i. e. the impious man, by which they understood Nimrod. See *Hyde's Comment.* on Ulugh Begh's Table of Constellations, p. 44 of the first edit.; p. 57 of the Syntagma Dissertt. Vol. I.

Okon., 1767. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Suppl. ad Lexica, p. 1320. According to Hygin (Poet. Astron. Tom. II. cap. 26) Orion was likewise a hunter, who manifested hostility towards Diana and Latona; and having indulged the presumptuous boast that he would destroy all that the earth produced, the earth killed him by a scorpion, and he was then placed by Jupiter among the stars, “*ut species ejus hominibus documento esset, ne quis eorum de aliqua re sibi consideret.*”

116. *בַּעַל*, Heb. *בַּעַל*. Comp. *Perizonius* Origg.

Babyl., p. 94. According to an account, preserved by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. cap. 18, p. 420), from the ancient work of an unknown writer, there were, in the time of Abraham, giants in Babylonia, who, on account of their wickedness, were destroyed by the gods, with the exception only of Belus, and he afterwards became the ruler of the country, fixing his seat at the tower which was built by him, and which continued to be called by his name.

117. In *Georg. Syncelli* Chronographia, p. 206 of the edit. of Goar. Comp. *Volney* Recherches, P. III. p. 112, et seqq.

118. “There is still extant indeed, a list of the names of thirteen kings of two dynasties, previous to the age of Nabonassar, the first of which consists of *seven* Chaldæans, who are said to have reigned for 224 years, and the second of *six* Arabians, whose dynasty extended to 216 years—both together occupying 440 years. But they are all obscure, unknown names, and the period of time to which they

belong is quite uncertain." *Gatterer's History of the World*, Götting. 1785, p. 151.

119. "Nabonassar seems to have been neither the founder of a new kingdom, nor the first of a new royal family; yet though he was not so celebrated for his exploits as his immediate successor, an Egyptian mathematician of the second century (Ptolemy), fixed on his reign for the commencement of an era, which was, in the first instance, designed for the use of astronomers, but which has also been found very serviceable in the chronology of history. Yet the kings, mentioned in the canon of Ptolemy, are believed, on good grounds, to have been merely princes of the royal house of Assyria, endowed with their own *apanage* or territorial inheritance." *Gatterer*, loc. cit. Comp. *Volney*, loc. cit., p. 121, and *L. J. K. Justis' Miscell. Dissertt. on Important Subjects of Theology*, Vol. I. p. 286. *Paulus*, indeed, endeavours to make it appear (Key to Isaiah, p. 270) that Babylon had independent kings from the time of Baladan till it came under the dominion of Esarhaddon. But the more common opinion has been confirmed by the accounts of Berosus, which have lately come to light, as preserved in the Armenian translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius. See note 121.

120. This name is plausibly explained by *Von Bohlen* (*Symbolæ ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. e Ling. Pers.* p. 26,) by مردک انباده *Mardak-ambadeh*, vir gloriosus, and مردک بلادان *Mardak-baladan* vir laudatus. مردک is also the name of a Babylonian idol, in Jer. l. 2, probably the planet

Mars. See *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, vol. II. p. 345. Comp. vol. I. p. 997. On the practice of the ancients to call themselves after their national gods, see the same work, p. 281, note; and *Simonis* Onomast. V. T. p. 484, et seqq.

121. In the Armenian Translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was recently published for the first time (Venice 1818,) by *Joh. Bapt. Aucher*, along with a Latin version. Tom. I. p. 42, 43. The first who used it for the illustration of Isa. xxxix. 1, was *Gesenius* in his Comment. on Isaiah, vol. I. p. 999. The identity of Mardoc Empad, and Merodach Baladan, is likewise recognized by *Ditmar*, (Hist. of the Israelites to the time of Cyrus, p. 374,) who farther remarks: "The governors of provinces in the east possessed, like the pachas in the modern empire of Turkey, the full rights of sovereignty in their respective satrapies; so that they not only held, from the monarch, uncontrolled dominion over all the inhabitants within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but might carry on war and form alliances with neighbouring princes. See *Herodotus* III. 118, vi. 29. *Nepos*. Datames, VI. 10. But the treaty of Mardoc or Merodach Empad with Hezekiah, so far from having been concluded under the sanction of the king of Assyria, was designed to excite the Jewish monarch to a war against him. The Bible calls Merodach also by the name of Baladan, the son of Baladan. But I do not understand this as if the predecessor of Merodach had also been called Baladan, and was Merodach's father; for it was not the custom to permit the vice-regal power, such as I

conceive this to have been, to descend from father to son. But I take the name Baladan for a family-name, or the same as Belesys, the name of that Babylonian who threw off the Assyrian yoke along with Arbaces, and, as Ctesias relates, stirred up against Assyria an Arabian king, who can have been no other than Hezekiah. In the names Belesys and Baladan the letters α , γ , ν and γ , and also the Greek characters σ and δ , may have been easily interchanged, either in the Hebrew or in Diodorus. It is true that the reign of Merodach ended in the year B.C. 712, and the revolt of the Medes did not happen till two years after, viz. B. c. 710; but, be that as it may, it is evident, from the treaty he entered into with Hezekiah, that Merodach must be regarded as the first who endeavoured to make himself independent of Assyria in the government of Babylonia."

122. It might at first sight appear from Isa. xxxvii. 37, 38, as if Sennacherib was murdered *immediately* on his return from Palestine, whereas, according to Berosus, he survived Merodach Baladan for a considerable time. But, as *Gesenius* observes, (loc. cit. p. 1002,) he is expressly said by Isaiah to have *dwelt at Nineveh*, after his return; and the period that elapsed before his death is not specified.

123. כַּשְׁדִּיִּם. The signification of the name is unknown. For the conjecture of *J. C. Friedrich* is without foundation, that it was derived from *كشد* to *wander*, the Chaldæans having been a nomadic horde, who scattered themselves throughout the adjoining regions. See his Dissert. on the Progenitor, Country, and early History of the Chaldæans, in *Eichhorn's*

Allgem. Biblioth. der Biblischen Literatur. Part X. p. 425. See the author's Annot. on Habak. I. 6, in his Scholia in V. T. Part VII. vol. III. p. 366.

124. According to *Xenophon* (Cyp. III. 2, 7.) the Chaldæans lived in the mountains bordering on Armenia, and in that region they appear in the expedition of the Younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Anab. IV. 3, 4.; V. 5, 9; VII. 8, 14. Comp. *Norberg*. de Chaldaeis septentrionalis originis, in his Selectis Opusculis Academicis, P. III. p. 150, et seqq. Whether the *Chalybes* mentioned by *Xenophon*, (Anab. VII. 8, 14,) as dwelling near the Chaldæans, towards the Black Sea, were a tribe of Chaldæan origin is uncertain. *Norberg* thinks it very probable, (loc. cit. p. 158.) Comp. *Schlözer's* Dissert. on the Chaldæans in *Eichhorn's* Repertor. vol. VIII. p. 113, et seqq.*

125. In Judith v. 5, the Hebrews are called "descendants of the Chaldæans," ἀπόγονοι Χαλδαίων. In Gen. x. 22, 24, likewise, Arpachsed (אַרְפַּכְשָׁד) i. e. "the bounds (^{ס-ג} ^{ס-ג} plur. ^{ס-ג} ^{ס-ג}) of the Chaldæans," is introduced as the ancestor of Heber, from whom the Hebrews were descended.

126. גוי מצולם.

127. "Yet a considerable portion of the Chaldæans must have remained in the original seat of the

* Strabo says the Chaldæans were anciently called *Chalybes*. The people mentioned by *Xenophon* in the passage referred to seem different from those he elsewhere introduces. They are described as few in number, and subject to the Mosynæci. Comp. *Eustathius* ad Dionys. v. 467.—M.

nation, retaining their ancient mode of life, seeing that even under the Persians, they appear to have enjoyed many of the liberties of an independent people, as we learn from the account of Xenophon, (see note 124.) Since the Kurds, who inhabited the same region in the middle ages, and continue to inhabit it, have always been on the same distinct and independent footing; and since tribes, when so secluded, are often found to retain their language and manners unchanged for thousands of years, the conjecture, that the Kurds are descendants of the primitive Chaldæans is not to be lightly rejected. See *Schulten's* Geograph. Index to his Edition of the Life of Saladin, under *Curdi*." *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, Part I. p. 747.

128. [Rosenmüller follows here the translation of *Justi*, Leipsic, 1821, with only one slight alteration. But, as it is full of obscurities, I have given a version, which is founded partly on that of Newcome.—M.]

129. See *Eusebius* Chronic. in *Scaliger's* Thesaur. Tempor. p. 124, and *Alexander Polyhistor*. in *Georg. Syncellus*, p. 218, 220, Edit. of Goar.

130. In the time of Herodotus, the Assyrians and Chaldæans appear in the Persian army as one people. Book VII. cap. 63. Ἀσσύριοι, τούτέων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι.

131. Called in the Canon of Ptolemy, "Nabokolassar." See *Volney* Recherches, P. III. p. 132. *Lorsbach*, in the Archives for Eastern Literat. Vol. II. p. 247, explains the name נְבוּכֹדֶנְאֶצַּר, or as it is sometimes written נְבוּכֹדֶרֶאצַּר, from the Persian نبو خدان سر Nebu-chodan-sar, i. e. "Nebo,

Prince of Gods,"—in which case the middle word must be considered as an abbreviation of **خدایان**.

Nebu is the Chaldee name of the planet Mercury. See Gesenius' Comment. on Isaiah, Vol. II. p. 342.

Other less plausible explanations may be found in *Simonis*, Onomast. p. 573. *Volney* says, (loc. cit. in the note): Nabo-kol-asar s'explique bien, *prophète tout victorieux, ou vainqueur de tout*. Dans Nabokadn-asar le mot *kada* doit être le Syriaque *gad*, signifiant *la fortune*. Aussi les Arabes ont-ils rendu ce mot par Baktnasar, vainqueur fortuné. But how untenable these positions are, must be obvious to every orientalist. *Hyde* (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 2, p. 65 of the second edit.) regards the **ن** or **ر** in the middle of the name as epenthetic, and explains **נבר-נר-אזר** by "Mercury, Jupiter, Mars." But a proper name thus composed of the names of three gods, seems to be contrary to all analogy. In the Greek version of the Seventy, the word is written **Ναβουχοδονόσορος**; in a fragment of Berosus in *Josephus*, Apion I. 20, 21, **Ναβουχοδονόσορος**; in *Strabo*, XV. 1, 6, **Ναβοχοδρόσορος**. The Arabs call Nebu-

chadnezzar **بختنصر** Bohtonassar. See *Hottinger's* Histor. Orient. p. 325, and *Abulfaragi*, Hist. Dynast. p. 70, 78. *Firuzabadi*, in his Lexicon called Kamūs, i. e. the Ocean (Calcutta Edit. p. 668), gives the following peculiar exposition of this name, which is plain-

ly a corruption of Nebuchadnezzar: **بُخْتَنَصْر** نصر

بالتشديد اصله بوخت ومعناه ابن ونصر

كَبَقَمَ صَنَمٌ وَكَانَ وَجَدَ عِنْدَ الصَّنَمِ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْ
 نَحْتُ نَصْرَ i. e. Bochta-Nas-

sara, with double *sad*. The first word is properly *Bücht*, and signifies "son," and *Nassar*, in the form Bakkam, is the name of an idol beside which he was found; and as his father was unknown, he was named after the idol. He destroyed Jerusalem." *Richardson* says of this name, (Persian

Dictionary by Wilkins, p. 163,) نَحْتُ نَصْرَ

Bakhti-nassar. Arab. بَخْتُ النَصْرِ Bakhta'n'-nassar, i. e. "the Fortune of Victory," [yet the first name is Persian,] the prince who in the Bible is called Nebuchadnezzar. The Eastern historians consider him merely as one of the four governors, whom Lohorasb, king of Persia, (the son of Kai-Khosru or Cyrus,) appointed over his vast empire; the district assigned to him was Babylonia or Chaldæa. Some derive the name Nebuchadnezzar from three Assyrian idols, called Nobo, Hadan, and Assar; and others explain it from the Chaldee, in which it is supposed to denote, the servant of Nassar, a Babylonian idol."

132. Volney, (loc. cit. p. 150,) has made it very probable that this account by Megasthenes, (found in *Strabo* xv. l. 6; and in *Josephus contra Apion*, i. 20,) was founded on a misconception.

133. See Abydenus in *Eusebius Præp. Evang.* ix. 41.

134. Dan. iv. 32. Comp. *Bleek* in the Dissert. quoted at note 101, p. 268, et seqq.

135. אֵיל-מֶרֶדַךְ, called by Ptolemy, *Iluaridam*; by Syncellus, *Evidan-Merodach*. The second half of the name denotes the planet Mars, as deified by the Chaldæans. See note 120. אֵיל signifies in Hebrew, *foolish, impious*. According to a tradition preserved by Jarchi and St. Jerome, (see the author's Scholia on Isa. xiv. 19,) this prince held the reins of government for the seven years during which his father was deprived of reason; but he governed so ill, that the latter, on recovering his reason, threw him into prison. *Berosus* likewise, in *Eusebius Præpar. Evang.* ix. 40, and *Josephus contra Apion*, i. 20, speak of Evil-Merodach as a wicked prince. Perhaps originally his name had been אֵיל-מֶרֶדַךְ, Merodach is God; but, from the hateful associations attached to his name, the אֵיל may have been subsequently changed into אֵיל.

136. See *Prideaux's Connection*, Part I. This author identifies Evil-Merodach with that king of Assyria whom Xenophon mentions in the *Cyropædia* as having made the invasion into the Median territory, and who thereby gave occasion to the war in which Cyrus so distinguished himself. But it is very remarkable that Xenophon does not record the name of any one of the three Babylonian, or, as he calls them, Assyrian monarchs, with whom his hero Cyrus waged war—an omission which seems intentional, and tends to confirm the suspicion, that his narrative is little better than a historical romance. See Vol. I. p. 250. We deem it safer to abide by the catalogue

of kings names given by Berosus, meagre though it be.

137. He is not mentioned in the list of Ptolemy, but only in that of Berosus and Megasthenes, as preserved by Eusebius, loc. cit.

138. In *Herodot.* I. 77, and 188. *Volney* remarks, (*Recherches* P. III. p. 158.): Ce mot *Labun-et* n'est pas autre que le *Nabu* et *Nabun* des Hébreux et des Chaldéens, dans lequel l' N est changé en L par un cas dont notre langue offre des exemples triviaux. Le peuple dit *ecologie* au lieu d'*oeconomie*. Il est singulier de trouver cette altération dans le nom de *Laborosoachod*, fils et successeur de Neriglissor.

139. Berosus and Megasthenes, indeed, (in *Eusebius*, *Præpar. Evang.* IX. 40, 41), only call Nabonnid "a certain Babylonian, who was one of the conspirators against Laborosoachod, and no relation of his." "Berosus asks Volney, loc. cit. p. 162: a-t-il rougi du prince qui survécut à la perte de son trône et de son pays?" But Herodotus expressly says, that the last king of Babylon, *Labynet*, was a son of queen Nitocris, (I. 188.) 'Ο δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Now that this queen was the wife of Evil-Merodach, has been shewn on very convincing grounds by *Prideaux* in the work formerly quoted. But if Nabonnid or Labynet was a son of Nitocris and Evil-Merodach, he must have been a minor at the time when his predecessor was murdered.

140. Herodot. I. 185.

141. [According to Berosus and Megasthenes, Na-

bonnid, the last king of Babylon, when defeated by Cyrus, fled, with the remains of his army, to Borsippa. Being there besieged by the conqueror he submitted, and not only had his life spared, but received the province of Kerman or Caramania, where he ended his days in peace. *Xenophon*, however, (*Cyrop.* VII. 24,) says the last king of Babylon was killed at the taking of his capital by Cyrus; and this agrees with the account in *Dan.* v. 30: "in that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldæans, slain."^a]

142. See Vol. I. p. 241, et seqq. and comp. Note 42, above.

143. [As Rosenmüller adopts the sceptical conclusions of Bleek (see Note 101,) regarding the historical credibility of the Book of Daniel, I have sub-

^a Of the expression used on that occasion by Daniel to Belshazzar, "Thou art weighed in the balance," we find a curious illustration in Sir Thomas Roe's *Voyage to India*:—"The first of September (which was the late Mogul's birth-day,) he, retaining an ancient yearly custom, was, in the presence of his chief grandees, weighed in a balance; the ceremony was performed within his house, or tent, in a fair spacious room, whereinto none were admitted but by special leave. The scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with gold, and so the beam on which they hung by great chains, made likewise of that most precious metal. The king, sitting in one of them, was weighed, first against silver coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor: then was he weighed against gold: after that against jewels (as they say); but, I observed, (being there present with my lord ambassador,) that he was weighed against three several things, laid in silken bags, on the contrary scale. When I saw him in the balance, I thought on Belshazzar, who was found too light, *Dan.* v. 27."—M.

stituted, for his meagre remarks on the Babylonian constitution and government, the account of the judicious Heeren; and for a full vindication of the authenticity of Daniel, I would refer the reader to the work of a living German writer, *Hengstenberg* of Berlin, on "the Authenticity of Daniel, and the Integrity of Zechariah."—M.]

The government of provinces, in the great empires of the east, by means of viceroys or pachas, has obtained, from the earliest period to the present day. See Vol. I. p. 250, and *Von Hammer's* Constitution of the Ottoman Empire, Part I. p. 36. These viceroys often assumed the title of *king*, and hence the sovereign himself came to be called "the great king," and "the king of kings." See *Rosenmüller's* Scholia on Ezek. xxvi. 7, and *Gesenius' Comment.* on Isa. x. 8. The names of the different officers of state, &c. which occur in the books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, have been learnedly treated of by Bertholdt in the second Excursus to his translation and exposition of the Book of Daniel.

CHAPTER IX.

ASSYRIA.

As we had to distinguish between Persia and the Persian empire, and between Babylonia and the Babylonian empire, so we must now make a distinction between *the land of Assyria* and *the Assyrian empire*. The former was called by the Hebrews Ashur,¹ or as pronounced by the most ancient Greek translators, Assur. It derived its name from Ashur, the second son of Shem (Gen. x. 22), or from a tribe designated after him, who settled in this region. By the Greeks and Romans it was called Assyria, a word which passed into several other languages. But as the Chaldæans and Syrians, according to their practice of changing the letter s into t, pronounced "Athur" instead of Ashur, we find the country sometimes called, by Greek and Roman writers, *Atyria* and *Aturia*.²

This country was bounded on the north by Armenia, the Gordiæan Mountains, and especially by Mount Niphates; on the west by the river Tigris and Mesopotamia; on the south by

Persia ; and on the east by Media, more particularly by Mounts Choatres and Zagros.³ It nearly corresponded to the modern Kourdistan, or land of the Kourds,⁴ with the pachalik of Mosul, which contains about 1600 (German) square miles, and was thus about the size of the united kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The northern part is very mountainous, but towards the south it is generally level, like the neighbouring country of Babylonia. The culture of the soil is promoted by the number of rivers which traverse the country, and by the pleasant alternation of hill and dale which diversify its surface ; while the navigable Tigris presents great facilities for commerce. In different parts of the southern division there are springs of naphtha. The country abounds in wheat, and in the most esteemed kinds of fruit, as also in wine, cotton, and manna. And it was, therefore, with truth that the Assyrian commander Rabshakeh called his native country (2 Kings xviii. 32. Isa. xxxvi. 17) “ a land where there is corn and wine, bread and vineyards, olive-oil and honey.”⁵ When we find Herodotus,⁶ Strabo,⁷ Arrian,⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus,⁹ and other ancient writers comprising under Assyria the provinces of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and even Cappadocia as far as the Euxine Sea,¹⁰ we are to regard it as merely a statistical form of speech, in which Assyria is put for the Assyrian empire.

The principal river of Assyria is the Tigris, called by the Hebrews the Chiddekel, the course of which has been described in the former volume (p. 57.) It receives in its passage through Assyria two rapid streams, the Great and Little Zab¹¹ or Dhab (*i. e.* Wolf), called by the Greeks Lykus (the Wolf), and Kapros (the Wild Boar).¹² They run for a considerable distance parallel to each other, in a southerly direction, the former being to the west, the latter to the east. The Little Zab is called by the Turks *Altoon-Su*,^a *i. e.* Golden Water or Golden River.¹³ Ezra mentions (ch. viii. 21, 31) a river Ahava,¹⁴ where the Jewish exiles assembled on their way from Babylonia to Palestine. Some find this river in the Lykus or Great Zab,¹⁵ but the conjecture is without a shadow of probability. It would appear from the 15th verse, that Ahava was rather the name of a place or country; for it is said, "I assembled them at the river which flows towards Ahava." And it is much more likely that it lay in the south-west of Babylonia (which was in the direction of Palestine) than in the remote region of Assyria, which was to the north-east,—though indeed nothing certain can be determined concerning it.

^a "I believe," says Rich, "it is wrong to call the river *Altoon*, an epithet only belonging to the bridge from what it cost—*Altoon* meaning gold or money."—Rich's *Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 13, note.—M.

According to Ptolemy,¹⁷ Assyria was divided into six provinces, the northernmost of which was Arrapachitis, apparently so called from the Arphachsad¹⁸ of the Hebrews¹⁹ (Gen. x. 22, 24); inasmuch as that name, like most of those in the genealogical table in the book of Genesis, designated not only a person (who was Shem's second son) but also a country called after him.²⁰ Arrapachitis met on the south Calachene, probably the province of Chalach,²¹ mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11. Farther south lay Adiabene, the principal province of Assyria. Pliny²² and Ammianus,²³ comprise the whole of Assyria under this name, which, however, properly denoted only the province that was watered by the rivers Diab and Adiab, or the Great and Little Zab, (Dhab). To the north-east of Adiabene was Arbelitis, in which was the city Arbela, now Erbil, celebrated for the victory obtained in the neighbourhood by Alexander over Darius.²⁴ Southward lay the province of Apolloniatis,²⁵ along the Tigris, to near Ctesiphon. The most southerly province was Sittakene,²⁶ bordering upon Susiana.

The metropolis of Assyria, and the seat of empire, was *Nineveh*,²⁷ (2 Kings xix. 36; Is. xxxvii. 37; Jon. iii. 6; Nah. ii. 8.) The name signifies "the residence of Ninus."²⁸ If Ninus was the same person as Nimrod,²⁹ then the sacred and profane accounts of the founder of Ni-

neveh harmonise; for in Gen. x. 11, it is said that Nimrod went out from Babylonia to Assyria, *i. e.* he took that country,³⁰ and there built Nineveh, with other cities. In Greek and Roman writers, the city is commonly mentioned merely under the name of its founder Ninus;³¹ yet the name of Nineveh was not altogether unknown to later writers.³² It lay opposite the modern town of Mosul,³³ on the east bank of the Tigris,³⁴ where the villages of Nineveh or Nunia (also called Nebbi Yunes, *i. e.* the prophet Jonah), Nimrud³⁵ and Kalla Nunia (the Castle of Nineveh) preserve to the present day the remembrance of the most ancient capital of the world.³⁶ To judge from the slender accounts of this city which have come down to us, it must have been equal, if not superior, in extent to Babylon.³⁷ For, according to the statement in the Book of Jonah (ch. iii. 3,) it was three days' journey in circumference;³⁸ and according to Diodorus Siculus,³⁹ or rather his authority Ctesias, its circuit was 480 stadia, (about 11 or 12 geographical miles)—both accounts thus agreeing with tolerable exactness. In connection with this, it is said, (Jon. iv. 11,) that there were in it 120,000 persons who knew not their right hand from their left. As this is a proverbial expression, denoting children under the age of three or five years, we may, according to the usual rate of calculation, estimate the

entire population at two millions of souls. This number may appear too small in proportion to the vast extent of ground occupied, especially when compared with the population of our European cities ; but it is to be kept in view, that the ancient cities of the east, as Peking, Ispahan, Moscow, and others at the present day, comprehended in their circuit many gardens and large spaces of vacant ground. The walls of Nineveh were a hundred feet high, and so broad that three waggons might be driven on them abreast.⁴⁰ Upon the wall stood fifteen hundred towers, each two hundred feet in height ; and the whole was so strong as to be deemed impregnable. An ancient prediction had foretold, that the place should never be subdued, until the river became its enemy.^{40a} Relying upon this, Sardanapalus made it his stronghold in his war with Arbaces the Mede. For three years it stood out the siege, but at length the river broke in, demolishing part of the wall, twenty stadia in length ; whereupon Sardanapalus was thrown into such despair, that, abandoning his capital to the enemy, he set fire to the palace, and perished amid his treasures.

The situation of Nineveh was favourable for commerce. The Tigris, which communicated with the Euphrates by canals, and afterwards joined it before entering the Persian Gulf, opened up to Nineveh the whole of the south of

Asia and the Southern Ocean.^a Hence the prophet Nahum (ch. iii. 16) says, "that Nineveh had more merchants than there are stars in the sky." And as Michaelis remarks (in loc.), the commercial intercourse between Eastern and Western Asia must have almost entirely been carried on by way of Nineveh, inasmuch as there were the bridges over the Tigris, a river which at few other points admitted of their convenient erection. But, as is the case in all large and wealthy cities, there reigned here the greatest corruption of morals, on account of which the Hebrew prophets Nahum (ch. iii. 1, et seqq.) and Zephaniah (ch. ii. 13—15) foretold its destruction, (comp. Tobit xiv. 13.) This was hastened through the effeminacy and licentiousness of the Assyrian monarchs, who were unable to withstand the attacks of the victorious Medes. Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopolassar, viceroy of Babylon, having formed an alliance, took and destroyed Nineveh in the year B. c. 597. There was subsequently built, either on the site of the ancient capital or in the neighbourhood, a town of the same name, which is mentioned by Tacitus,⁴¹ in the second half of the first century, and by Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴² in the fourth century.

^a It is the opinion of Major Rennell, that previously to the age of Alexander the Great, the Euphrates and Tigris flowed into the Persian Gulf by distinct and independent channels.—M.

Besides Nineveh, Nimrod founded, in Assyria, three other cities, Gen. x. 11, 12. The first of these is called *Rechoboth-Ir*,—words which may signify “streets of a city,”⁴⁴ or Rechoboth, a city,⁴⁵ *i. e.* the city Rechoboth. Neither in the ancient Greek and Roman authors, nor in the eastern writers of the middle age, are there the traces of any Assyrian town of that name; and nothing therefore respecting its site can be determined with certainty.⁴⁶

Of *Calach*,⁴⁷ the next of Nimrod’s cities, there seems to be some trace in *Calachene*, which we find in Strabo,⁴⁸ as a province of Assyria, between the source of the Lycus and the Tigris. It was bounded on the north by Arrapachitis and the Gordiæan or Carduchian Mountains, on the south by Adiabene. Ptolemy⁴⁹ calls it *Kalakine*. But, according to the opinion of some learned men, Calach is not different from Chalach,⁵⁰ whither Salmanassar, king of Assyria, transplanted a colony of Israelites,* 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11. The name Chalach is given among the Syrians to a town which is likewise called by them Chulon, and by the Arabs, Cholwan or Holwan.⁵¹ By the Arabian Geographers, it is described as the most north-easterly city of Arabian or Babylonian Irak, in the direction of Persia, at the foot of the mountain-ridge, which

* See Vol. I. pp. 172, 188, 310.

at present separates the Turkish from the Persian territory. This place would have been one of the most southerly of ancient Assyria, whereas the Calachene of the ancients was one of the northernmost provinces of that empire. We therefore take Calach and Chalach to be two different places, the former of which gave name to the province of Calachene, but the latter is Holwan, which still retains its ancient name among the Syrians.⁵²

The last Assyrian city mentioned in Gen. x. 12, as having been founded by Nimrod, is *Resen*,⁵³ which is described as a great city that lay between Nineveh and Calach. Bochart⁵⁴ thought he found a trace of the Hebrew name in Larissa, a city mentioned by Xenophon in his account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.⁵⁵ As they moved eastward up the Tigris, they found, several miles north of the Lycus, a deserted city, called Larissa,⁵⁶ which was formerly in possession of the Medes. It was two parasangs in circuit, but nothing remained of it except the strong wall, a hundred feet high, and constructed of brick. The situation of this town would correspond pretty exactly to the position of Resen, as described by Moses;—only there is too little similarity in the names to warrant us in certainly identifying them as the same place. A Syrian annalist of the middle age mentions a place with a name of like sound,

Ressin,⁵⁷ among some other towns of the district of Mosul, which were destroyed by the Arabs in the eighth century.⁵⁸ But so little is known of the situation of this place, that it cannot even be ascertained whether it lay on the east or west side of the Tigris.

About nine miles north of Mosul, on the east bank of the Tigris, lies a village, *Elkosh*,⁵⁹ now the seat of the chief patriarch of the Nestorians, who always bears the name of Elias, and to whose diocese nearly three hundred villages belong. Here, it is believed, the prophet Nahum was born and buried; and his grave, which is still shown, is visited in pilgrimage by the Jews.⁶⁰ Nahum is certainly styled an Elko-shite in the title of his prophecies, and it is possible that his ancestors were among the Israelitish colonists transplanted to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser. In that case, it must be supposed that Nahum had returned to the land of his fathers;⁶¹ for there can be no doubt that it was there his denunciations against Nineveh were uttered. According to another ancient tradition, mentioned by Jerome, a village in Galilee called *Elkesi*, was believed to be the birth-place of the prophet.⁶² But which of these conjectures is the more probable, it is impossible now to determine.⁶³

One of the most considerable cities of the east part of Assyria was Arbela, between the Lycus

and Caprus, or the Great and Little Zab.⁶⁴ It was the place where the treasures of Darius were deposited, after his last unfortunate battle with Alexander at Gaugamela, ten geographical miles farther west;⁶⁵ and, as Arbela was the larger and better known place, the battle was called by its name. Abulfeda mentions it under the name of Irbil,⁶⁶ as a town of Persian Irak; and Niebuhr, who calls it Arbil, found on its site an inconsiderable village with a castle.⁶⁷ It belonged to the pachalic of Bagdad, and had a strong garrison of janissaries.^a The prophet Hosea mentions (ch. viii. 14), a place, Arbel or Beth-Arbel,⁶⁸ which was destroyed by Shalman, an Assyrian king. Some expositors would identify it with the above-mentioned Arbela in Assyria. But the prefixed epithet *Beth*, is never found except in names of places where Hebrew or Aramæan was spoken;⁶⁹ and the prophet seems to have had in view a town in Galilee, which is also mentioned in 1 Mac. ix. 2, and by Josephus,⁷⁰ and was destroyed in an early inroad of the Assyrians.

When Salmanassar, king of Assyria, had captured Samaria, and taken prisoner Hoshea, king of the ten tribes, he transplanted, according to the practice of ancient conquerors, a part of the Israelites to Assyria. "He gave them dwellings in Chalach and in Chabor on the river Gosan,

^a The more recent account by *Rich* will be found under Note 67.—M.

and in cities of Media," 2 Kings xvii. 6. Chalach was probably (as we remarked above at p. 127), the district round the modern Holwan. Chabor⁷¹ appears to have been the mountain tract between Media and Assyria, which Ptolemy calls Chaboras,⁷² where the river of the same name has its source, flowing into the Tigris in the district of Mosul. According to another opinion, Chabor was that province of Mesopotamia which is traversed by the river Chaboras. But that river is called in the Old Testament, Chebar.⁷³ The river Gosan was the stream which is now called the Kissil-Osan, and has been already mentioned in our description of Media.* From this river, the district traversed by it, is called by Ptolemy, Gausania.⁷⁴

Another region, which was not within the limits of Assyria Proper, but lay on its border, and belonged to the Assyrian empire, was *Kir*,⁷⁵ whither the Damascenes conquered by the Assyrians were transplanted, (2 Kings xvi. 9. Amos i. 5); and whither also, according to Amos ix. 7, the Aramæans in the east of Syria, once wandered. Kir is probably a country on the river Kur, the Kuros (Cyrus) of the Greeks, (in Zend, *Koro*), which rises in the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and runs into the latter, after being joined by the Araxes.⁷⁶ The name Kur is likewise employed to denote a

* See Vol. i. p. 180, and Appendix, p. 310.—M.

country through which it flows;⁷⁷ and Gurdjistan or Grusia (Grusinia), commonly called Georgia, seems also to have derived its name from this river Kur.⁷⁸

Sacred and profane writers agree in representing Assyria as one of the most ancient kingdoms of Asia. In the ethnographic table, in the 10th chapter of Genesis, (ver. 11), it is said that Nimrod went out from Babylonia into Assyria (implying that he conquered the latter country) and there built Nineveh.⁷⁹ Hence the prophet Micah (ch. v. 5) calls Assyria *the land of Nimrod*. The native accounts, preserved to us by Ctesias, designate the builder of Nineveh, and the founder of the Assyrian empire, by the name of Ninus;⁸⁰ and there is no reason for supposing this a different person from the Nimrod of scripture.⁸¹ What Ctesias reports of the extraordinary exploits of Ninus and his wife Semiramis, bears the impress of an exaggerated tradition,⁸² in which the actions of several kings of the same dynasty are combined into one narrative, and included within a single reign.⁸³ One thing seems evident from these accounts, viz. that the successors of Ninus extended their conquests in every direction. So early as the time of Moses (about 1500 years B. C.), Balaam, a seer from the banks of the Euphrates, foretels to the Kenites, a Canaanitish tribe on the east side of the

Jordan, their conquest and captivity by the Assyrians (Numb. xxiv. 22); at the same time announcing to the latter their subjection by a maritime people from Chittim, which lay to the west, (ver. 24). In the 83d Psalm (ver. 9), the Assyrians are mentioned among David's enemies, in connection with the Moabites, Edomites, Philistines and Tyrians; a proof that the Assyrian dominion, even at that period (B. c. 1000), reached as far as Syria.

The first Assyrian king mentioned in the historical books of scripture is Phul,⁸⁴ who, about the year B. c. 770, appeared in the kingdom of Israel (the country of the ten tribes), and compelled Menahem the king to pay a thousand talents of silver and become his ally, 2 Kings xv. 19. During the internal dissensions which prevailed in the kingdom of Israel, after the death of Jeroboam II., we gather from hints, given by the prophet Hosea (ch. v. 13; x. 6),⁸⁵ that the contending parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves against one another, by throwing themselves on the Assyrians for succour. When, a few years afterwards, Pekah, king of Israel, combined with Rezin, king of Syria, against the kingdom of Judah, which they proposed to divide between them, (Isa. vii. 6.) Ahaz, the Jewish king, sought help of Tiglath-pileser⁸⁶ king of Assyria, and purchased his support at a very heavy expense,

which, being unable to defray out of his own treasury, he paid with the gold and silver of the temple, (2 Kings xvi. 5—8). Tiglath-pileser seized the opportunity of annexing a portion of the Syrian and Israelitish states to his own dominions. He took Damascus, slew Rezin the king, and transferred the population to Kir, an Assyrian province (2 Kings xvi. 9);⁸⁷ treating, in a similar manner, the inhabitants of the conquered district of Israel, 2 Kings xv. 29.

Under Tiglath-pileser's successor, Salmanassar or Shalman (called in Tobit i. 2, Enemessar⁸⁸), the Assyrian monarchy reached its highest prosperity. The king of Israel, Hoshea, he rendered tributary (2 Kings xvii. 3), but as the latter, allying himself with Egypt, refused to pay the tribute-money, Salmanassar invaded his country, took Samaria the capital after a siege of three years, made the king prisoner, and reduced the kingdom of Israel to an Assyrian province about the year B. C. 730 or 720. The greater part of the inhabitants he transplanted to Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media, and settled in the land of Israel colonists from other parts of his empire, especially from Babylonia, 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24; xviii. 9, 10, 11. The whole of Phœnicia was subdued by Salmanassar with the exception of the island of Tyre, whose inhabitants defeated the ships which he had equipped in the other Phœnician sea-ports.⁸⁹ Besides these conquests,

the prophet Isaiah, writing a few years later, mentions (ch. xxii. 6) Elam and Kir also as furnishing their contingents of troops to swell the Assyrian host; whence it may be inferred, that about this period (B. c. 720) the empire reached the summit of its greatness, embracing the whole of Western Asia, from Persia to the Mediterranean, and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf.

Yet even this colossal extent of territory did not satisfy the restless ambition of the Assyrian monarchs. Jealous of the influence of Egypt over the south-western provinces, (and there was evidently a considerable party among the Jews, who were in the interest of Egypt, Isa. xx. 5, 6; xxx. 2; xxxi. 1,) Sargon,⁹⁰ the successor of Salmanassar, endeavoured to subdue that country. The campaign seems to have been opened by Tartan, the Assyrian general, taking Ashdod (Isa. xx. 1), a fortress on the Egyptian frontier; and a passage in the prophecy of Nahum (ch. iii. 8—10) establishes the fact of an Assyrian army having, about this period, penetrated into Egypt, and taken No-Ammon, *i. e.* Thebes or Diospolis, the capital of Upper Egypt. Sardon appears to have died immediately after, and his army to have been withdrawn both from Egypt and Palestine; for Hezekiah, king of Judah, not long after the commencement of his reign, was em-

boldened to break off all connection with Assyria, and formed an alliance with Egypt, (2 Kings xviii. 7.)

In consequence of this, Sargon's successor, Sancherib,⁹¹ or Sennacherib, appeared in Palestine with an army for the conquest of Egypt, with the design of subduing Judæa on the way. He obtained possession of several strongholds ere Hezekiah was aware of his approach, (Isa. xxxvi. 1.) The Jewish king humbly sued for peace, and paid a large sum of money in the name of tribute, (2 Kings xviii. 14—16); but the Assyrian farther insisted on Jerusalem being given up to him, and sent his general, Rabshakeh, to demand its surrender, in terms of the most insolent contempt. But while one part of his army lay before Jerusalem, and another was advancing towards Egypt, he heard that Tirhakah, king of Æthiopia, was in the field against him. This circumstance, and the sudden destruction of a great part of his army by pestilence, compelled him to raise the siege of Jerusalem, and return to Nineveh, 2 Kings xviii. 13—37; ch. xix.; Isa. ch. xxxvi. and xxxvii. The eastern provinces of the empire took advantage of the unsuccessful expedition against Egypt for throwing off the Assyrian yoke. Media appears to have become a separate state about this period, under Dejoces;^a

^a See Vol. I. p. 173.

and in Babylon, Merodach-Baladan assumed the rank of an independent sovereign.* The latter, however, was soon after murdered, and his successor Belibus was defeated and taken prisoner by Sennacherib, who, on regaining the dominion of Babylonia, appointed as viceroy his own son Esarhaddon, he himself returning to Assyria. Having heard of a revolt of the Greeks in Cilicia, he marched against them, and, though deserted by a part of his army, defeated them in battle. In memorial of the victory, he caused a statue of himself to be erected on the spot, and an account of his warlike exploits to be engraven in Chaldee characters upon a tablet of stone. He likewise founded the city of Tarsus, after the model of Babylon, and called it Tarsis.⁹²

After a reign of eighteen years, Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons Adrammelech and Sarezar, in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh. The parricides fled to Armenia,⁹³ and the Assyrian throne was ascended by Esarhaddon,⁹⁴ who had been hitherto his father's viceroy at Babylon, 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38. No farther mention is made of this monarch in scripture but that he settled certain colonists in Samaria, Ezra iv. 2. The conjecture of several learned men is not improbable, that Esarhaddon was the same person as Sardanapalus, who, being driven into his residence at Nineveh by the

* See the present Volume, p. 41.

revolted Medes and Babylonians, and finding himself reduced to extremity, set fire to the palace and perished in the flames, along with his wives and treasures.⁹⁵ This much is certain, that the Jews were never disturbed by the Assyrians subsequently to the time of Sennacherib,⁹⁶ and that, soon after, the Chaldæans appear on the scene as the conquerors of Western Asia. Yet Assyria, though much weakened, and perhaps nearly reduced within its original boundaries, appears to have existed some time longer as an independent state. But about a hundred and twenty years after Esarhaddon, (B. C. 597), Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopalassar, viceroy of Babylon, combined against Assyria,^a took and destroyed Nineveh, and divided the empire between them, Assyria Proper now becoming a province of Media.^b

Respecting the political constitution and internal organization of the Assyrian Empire, and the state of society and manners, the historical fragments which relate to it are entirely silent. The Assyrians are only known in history as

^a See the present Volume, p. 46.

^b There is a famous History of Koordistan, called the "Tarikh al Akrad," the MS. of which Mr. Rich succeeded in procuring when in the country; and it is now, along with his other valuable oriental MSS., in the British Museum. See his *Residence in Koordistan*, Vol. I. p. 109, 247.—M.

conquerors. There is no trace of their having prosecuted remote foreign commerce by means of the Tigris, of their having been distinguished in any of the arts or sciences, or of their having exercised any material influence on the civilization of the nations whom they conquered. They had, no doubt, the same religion (namely, the symbolical worship of the stars and of nature), and also the same language, in common with the other neighbouring tribes of the great Medo-Persian family.

1. אשור, אשור 1 Chron. v. 6. This name has been preserved in **اثور** Athur, a very ancient city on the Tigris, not far from Mosul, which, in the time of Abulfeda, was in ruins.* See his description of Meso-

* To the north-east of Mosul, at the distance of six caravan, or four horseman's hours, are the ruins of a place called *Nimrod*, supposed by Rich to be the Larissa of Xenophon. A short account of the principal ruin, with a copy of the cuneiform inscriptions found there, has been given in his work on Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 129, et seqq. "The Turks generally believe this to have been Nimrod's own city; and one or two of the better informed, with whom I conversed at Mosul, said it was *Al Athur* or *Ashur*, from which the whole country was denominated. It is curious that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Deraweish still consider Nimrod as their founder. The village story-tellers have a book they call the '*Kisseh Nimrod*,' or Tales of Nimrod, with which they entertain the peasants on a winter night." All this seems to give countenance to the translation of Gen. x. 11:—"Out of that land he (i. e. Nimrod) went forth into Asshur."—M.

potamia in *Paulus'* New Repert. Part III. p. 31, where, however, it is misprinted انور. Comp. the Latin translation [by Reiske] in *Büsching's Magazin*, Part IV. p. 247. *Goliüs* on Alfargani, p. 235, and *Büsching's Geography of Asia*, p. 267.

2. *Dio Cassius*, LXVIII. 28: Καὶ τοῦ καὶ Ἀτυρία διὰ τοῦτο βαββαρισὶ τῶν Σίγμα ἐς τὸ ταῦ μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη. Some erroneously state that Aturia was also the name of a particular province. See *Mannert*, Vol. II. p. 426.

3. See *Ptolemy's Geogr.* VI. 1.

4. The *Kurds* (كرد, collectively اكراد Acrad), the descendants of the Gordiæans and Carduchians, are a barbarous and warlike people, whose tribes partly follow the occupation of nomadic shepherds, and partly live in villages, but are, for the most part, addicted to robbery and plunder, and carry their predatory excursions far beyond the limits of their own country towards the west and south. See *Della Valle's Travels*, Part II. p. 3, 4. *Otter's Voyage*, Tom. I. p. 115. *Niebuhr's Travels*, Part II. p. 109, 330. *Volney's Voyages*, Tom. I. p. 364 of the fourth edit. *Ker Porter's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 467, [and especially *Rich's Residence in Kurdistan passim*]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (LXXIII. 6) describes Assyria "multi-formi feracitate ditissimam, ubi inter baccarum vulgariumque abundantiam frugum; bitumen nascitur, rel."

[The following is *Buxtorff's* article on the Karduchian or Gordiæan Mountains. Comp. our former

volume, p. 294: “קַרְדּוֹן קַרְדּוֹן *Kardu, montes Armeniæ altissimi, in quorum vertice arca Noæ, cessante diluvio, subsedit. Eas Ptolemæus vocat Gordæos, Q. Curtius Cordæos*: עַל טוֹרֵי קַרְדּוֹן Super montes Kardu. Hebr. עַל הַרֵי אֲרָרַט, Genes. viii. 4, in Onkelo. Jouathan autem עַל טוֹרֵי דְקַרְדּוֹן שׁוֹם טוֹרָא חַד קַרְדְּנִיָּא וְשׁוֹם טוֹרָא חַד אֲרַמְנִיָּא Super montes Kardōn; nomen montis unius Kardonia, nomen montis alterius Armenia, et ibi ædificata est urbs Armenia in terra orientis. *Hinc populos in istis locis habitantes historici vocarunt Καρδοίαις, Gordæos, Cordionos, Gordenos, Cordyæos. Vide Josephum, lib. 1, Antiq. cap. 4. Junium, Mercerum, et alios in hoc caput. Item Fullerum in Miscel. Theolog. lib. 1, cap. 4. וְאֲנֹן אֲשֶׁתִּזְבּוּ לְאַרְעָא דְקַרְדּוֹן. Et isti proripuerunt se in terram Kardu. Jesa. xxxvii. xxxviii. 2 Reg. xix. v. 37, מַלְכּוֹת אֲרָעָא דְקַרְדּוֹן, Regna terræ Kardu, Jerem. li. 27.”*

“קוֹרְדִּינִיָּא קוֹרְדִּינִיָּא *Kardyanum, Armeniacum*: Tal. וּבֵעָא מִנִּי דִּינְרָא קוֹרְדִּינִיָּא Et petiit a me numum,” [i. e. a Dinār]. “Kardyanum, id est, ex montibus sive montanis Ararat sive Armeniæ ut in glossa explicatur, Cholin, fol. 542. קוֹרְדִּינִיָּתָא חִיטִּי Triticum Cordonium, Armenicum, Pesach. fol. 7, 1.” *Buxtorffii, Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, semipag. 2125.*

5. “Kurdistan,” says *Niebuhr*, loc. cit., p. 330, “is a mountainous country, but very productive, espe-

cially in gall-nuts (of which an immense quantity is yearly sent to Aleppo, and thence exported to Europe), in manna (used throughout the whole district instead of sugar), in cotton, rice, tobacco, grapes and figs. They also raise here madder (*fua*), a kind of coarse vegetable silk, growing on trees, and mastich (*alk*), which is not, however, so good as that from the Island of Chio." Comp. *Olivier*, Voyage, Tom. IV. p. 270. *Rauwolf*, who travelled from Bagdad to Aleppo by way of Mosul, at the end of the year 1574, speaks with admiration of the finely cultivated fields on the Tigris; so fruitful in corn, wine and honey, as to remind him of Rabshakeh's description in 2 Kings xviii. 32.

[These accounts are confirmed by the more recent observations of Rich: "The usual increase of grain is about five to ten to one of seed; fifteen is an extraordinary good crop. Last year^a the crops of grain were bad, and yielded only two. Wheat and barley are sown alternately in the same ground. They depend on the rain;^b which mode of agriculture is called *dern*. There is a kind of corn called *bahara*, which is sown in the spring, and requires artificial irrigation. In the plains, the ground is not allowed to lie fallow; but it is relieved by alternating the crops of wheat and barley. In the hilly country, the land must rest every other year.

^a Rich was in Koordistan in 1820.—M.

^b It must be remembered that much of the cultivation in the East is watered by the help of artificial means, such as aqueducts and canals.

Cotton must never be sown twice running in the same ground; some crops of tobacco generally intervene. The cotton is all of the annual kind, and generally requires watering, though in the hilly grounds some is grown by the means of rain. Manure is applied only to vines and tobacco. Rice should not be sown for several years running in the same ground, which, however, may be employed for other grain. The rice is chiefly grown in the district of Sheri-zoor. No hemp or flax is grown in Koordistan. Omar Aga told me, that this year he has thrown into the ground a small quantity of flaxseed which he procured from a hadgee [*i. e.* pilgrim], who had brought it from Egypt. Much Indian corn, millet, lentiles, grain, and one or two other species of pulse, are grown. The plough is drawn by two bullocks. No trees of the orange or lemon will flourish in Koordistan. The summer heat is, indeed, more than adequate; but the winter is too severe for them. The pasha lately procured some Seville oranges and sweet lime plants from Bagdad for his new garden; but the first winter killed them. The *ricinus*, or castor oil plant, is cultivated all over Koordistan; sometimes in separate fields, sometimes mixed with cotton.

“ A great quantity of honey, of the finest quality, is produced in Koordistan; the bees are kept in hives of mud. Gall-nuts are produced in great abundance, especially in the dwarf oak forest of Karadagh. They are exported to Kerkook, and thence to Mousul. The plant which produces gum Arabic, grows wild in

the mountains. It has a purple flower, and is called *ghewun*. Manna^a is found on the dwarf-oak, though several other plants are said to produce it, but not so abundantly, or of such good quality. It is collected by gathering the leaves of the tree,^b letting them dry, and then gently threshing them on a cloth. It is thus brought to market in lumps, mixed with an immense quantity of fragments of leaves, from which it is afterwards cleared by boiling. There is another kind of manna, found on the rocks and stones, which is quite pure, of a white colour, and is much more esteemed than the tree manna. The manna season begins in the latter end of June, at which period, when a night is more than usually cool, the Koords say it rains manna, and maintain that the greatest quantity is always found in the morning after such a night."—*Rich's Residence in Koordistan*, 2 vol. London, 1836, Vol. I. p. 132, 142.]

6. I. 178.

7. XVI. 1.

8. Exped. of Alexand. VII. p. 453.

9. XXIII. 20.

10. Thus, *Dionysius Periegeta*, v. 975.

11. ^{س و} ذيب ديبه, זאב; hence *Záβaros*, the name by

^a Called in Turkish, *kudret hulvassi*, or the divine sweet-meat; in Arabic, *musée*; in Persian, *ghexungubeen*; in Koordish, *ghezo*.

^b "The manna on each leaf did pearled lie,"—*Fairfax's Tasso*.

which the great Zab is mentioned by Xenophon (Anab. Cyri, II. 5.)^a

12. Both these rivers are minutely treated of by *Wahl* in his *Asia*, p. 719, et seqq. Comp. *Mannert*, Part V. Div. 2, p. 434.

13. See *Tavernier's Travels*, II. 7.

14. אֲדוּיָא. The Sept. expresses this name at verses 21, 31, by Ἀδύη, but at v. 15, by Ἐυή.

15. This conjecture is founded on the very slight resemblance of the name Ahava to that of the river Adiaba or Diaba, from which, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (XXIII. 20.), the Assyrian province Adiabene took its name. As Adiaba or Diaba was probably formed from Dsab, this river was doubtless the Lycus; and that is the opinion of *Junius*, *Grotius*, and *Calmet*. But Adiaba would be written in Hebrew דִּיבָא or דִּיבָא, which can never have been the same with אֲדוּיָא.

16. In defence of the above opinion, *Le Clerc* (Comment. on Ezra viii. 15,) has recourse to the very improbable conjecture, that, to avoid the hot

^a "All the Koords and people of these parts call the Zab, *Zerb*. The Zab seems the Arabic name taken from the Chaldeans. *Bochart's* etymology is ingenious and plausible," *Rich's Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 20, note. Comp. p. 407. Where he crossed it (on a *kellek* or raft), between *Arbil* and *Mosul*, it was, at its narrowest, not above 400 feet over, but about two or three fathoms and a half deep. The current was very rapid; the water beautifully transparent, and of a sky-blue colour. In spring, it often spreads itself over the whole plain. —M.

climate of southern Mesopotamia and Arabia Deserta, Ezra appointed the rendezvous of the returning exiles to be in the north of Assyria, and led them into Judæa by way of Syria.

17. VI. 1.

18. רַעַשׁ כְּנָעַן. See the last chapter, note 125. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 627.

19. Thus, *Bochart*, Geog. Sac. Part I. Lib. II. cap. 4.

20. Yet this is doubted by *Vater*, in his Comment. on Gen. x. 22.

21. כְּנָעַן: in *Ptolemy*, Καλακηνή, in *Strabo*, XVI. 1, Καλαγχήνη.

22. Hist. Nat. V. 12. Adiabene, Assyria antea dicta.

23. L. XXIII. Cap. 6. § 20. Juxta hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque adusuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum ea re, quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita navigeros fluvios, adiri vado nunquam potuit: transire enim διαβαίνειν dicimus Græci; et veteres quidem hoc arbitrantur. Nos autem id dicimus, quod in his terris omnes sunt duo perpetui, quos et transivimus,

Diabas et Adiabas (ذَيْبٌ, دَيْبٌ) juncti navalibus pontibus; ideoque intelligi Adiabensem cognominatam, cet. The Diaba and Adiaba are the Great and Little Dsab; see note 11. The Syrians call Adiabene حَادْيَاب Chadyab. See *Assemani's Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. DCCVIII. In the Talmud, it is called חַדְיָב, *e. g.* in Moed-Katon, fol. 28. 1. וְזוּגָא מִן חַדְיָב, a couple (of wise men) from Hadyab. In Baba-

bathre, fol. 26. 2, mention is made of a יעקוב הדויבא, Jacob from Adiabene. In Kiddushin, fol. 72. 1, is found דודיב, as also in the Chaldee Version, at Ezek. xxxvii. 23, for ערן. On the other hand, in Jer. li. 27, there is אשכנז דודיב for אשכנז.

24. *Mannert*, loc. cit., p. 452.

25. *Mannert*, p. 456.

26. *Mannert*, p. 464. The province of Chalonitis, which is reckoned by some as part of Assyria, belongs properly to Babylonia, (see above, p. 30); and it is only when the name Assyria is used in a large but loose sense, as including Babylonia, that Chalonitis can be considered to belong to it.

27. נִירוֹד.

28. נִירוֹד and נִירוֹד signify in Heb. *dwelling, abode*.

29. The designation of "Nimrod" was evidently a reproachful *sobriquet* imposed by enemies, (see chap. viii., note 114), and not his own proper name. Nothing is more common among the people of the east (especially the Arabs and Persians), than to express any peculiar trait of character by the imposition of a surname, by which the individual becomes better known than by his original name. Of this description are the surnames El-Mokanna, Aswed el Ansa, Saffach, Motenebbi, Hariri, Attar, Hafiz, Djezzar, &c.

30. See below, note 79.

31. See *Herodot.* I. 193; II. 101. *Diodor. Sicul.* II. 3. *Plin. Hist.* VI. 13.

32. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XVIII. 16. Postquam reges Nineve, Adiabene civitate transmissa, in

medio pontis Anzabae hostiis cæsis, extisque prosperrantibus transiere laetissimi.

33. See Vol. I. p. 68, note 25.

34. *Abulfeda* says, in the Description of Mesopotamia (New Repert. of *Paulus*, Part III. p. xxxi.) وقبالة

الموصل من البر الآخر الشرقي مدينة نبيوي الخراب, "opposite Mausul, on the east bank (of the Tigris), lies the destroyed city of Nineveh." And a little below : ومدينة نبيوي هذه هي البلدة التي

ارسل اليها يونس عم "The city of Nineveh is that to which the prophet Jonah was sent—upon whom be peace!" *Niebuhr* says, (Travels, Part II. p. 353), "Before reaching Mosul from the east bank, we rode through Nineveh. According to the opinion of the Christians at Mosul, this city extended from Kadikend to Jeremdja, villages which are only eight or nine miles separate, and lie upon the Tigris; but the Jews maintain, that it was three days' journey in length. I could perceive no traces of so remarkable a place till I approached the river. Here a village was pointed out to me, situated on a broad hill, and called Nunia, and a mosque, in which the prophet Jonah is supposed to have been buried. The Jews cherish a deep veneration for this grave to the present day.....Another hill in this country is called Kalla Nunia, or the Castle of Nineveh. On it lies a village, Koindjug. At Mosul, where I lived close upon the Tigris, they pointed out to me the walls of Nineveh, which I would have taken for a range of

hills." Comp. *Rauwolf's Travels*, p. 244. *Tavernier*, Part I. Book II. chap. 4. *Ives*, Part II. *Olivier*, Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 283.—*Diodorus Siculus*, (II. 3.), following Ctesias, erroneously places Nineveh on the Euphrates, contrary to the express testimony of Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy, (see *Wesseling* in loc.), as well as to the traditions of the country.

35. It is mentioned by Niebuhr among the places lying on the east bank of the Tigris, and south of Mosul. He says: "At Nimrud, a ruined castle, about eight leagues from Mosul, there is a dam built into the Tigris from both sides, for the purpose of leading off as much water as is necessary for irrigating the neighbouring country. This has not the appearance of a Mahommedan structure, and must therefore have resisted the rapid stream for several thousand years." [See *Rich*, as cited under note 1.]

36. The opinion of the travellers mentioned in note 34, is controverted by *Otter*, (Voyage, Tom I. ch. xiii. p. 133), who maintains, according to the tradition preserved by the inhabitants of Mosul, that Nineveh stood on the west bank of the Tigris, on the site of Eski-Mosul (Old-Mosul), nine leagues north of the present town of that name, (see *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. p. 377.) But this seems to have been merely the opinion of a single Mahommedan doctor. *Mannert*, likewise, (loc. cit. p. 441), places ancient Nineveh on the west side of the Tigris, but much farther south, towards Babylon. He thinks that the town, on the east bank, which is called Nineveh by Ptolemy and other ancient writers, did not, in reality, bear that name, but

was *Larissa*. This opinion rests upon certain fallacies, into the exposure of which we cannot here enter. Comp. *Schulthess*, *Das Paradies*, p. 116.

[Towards the end of last century, *Campbell* of Barbreck published a "Journey Overland to India," in which, along with much worthless matter, there are occasional illustrations of Scripture. He thus writes of the site of ancient Nineveh: his allusion to the excessive heat will recal the history of Jonah.

"It was early in the evening, when the pointed turrets of the city of Mosul opened on our view, and communicated no very unpleasant sensations to my heart. I found myself on Scripture ground, and could not help feeling some portion of the pride of the traveller, when I reflected that I was now within sight of Nineveh, renowned in holy writ. The city is seated in a very barren sandy plain, on the banks of the Tigris. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompassed with stately walls of solid stone, over which the steeples or minarets, and other lofty buildings, are shewn with increased effect. Here I first saw a caravan encamped, halting on its march from the Gulf of Persia to Armenia; and it certainly made a most noble appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

"But though the outside be so beautiful, the inside is most detestable: the heat is so intense, that in the middle of the day there is no stirring out, and even at night the walls of the houses are so heated by the day's sun, as to produce a disagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a yard distance from them.

However, I entered it with spirits, because I considered it as the last stage of the worst part of my pilgrimage. But, alas ! I was disappointed in my expectation ; for the Tigris was dried up by the intensity of the heat, and an unusual long drought, and I was obliged to take the matter with a patient shrug, and accommodate my mind to a journey on horse-back..... Besides this, the ordinary heat of the climate is extremely dangerous to the blood and lungs, and even to the skin, which it blisters and peels from the flesh, affecting the eyes so much, that travellers are obliged to wear a transparent covering over them to keep the heat off.”—*Campbell's Journey Overland to India. Part II. p. 130.*]

37. In Jon. iii. 3, it is termed “ a great city of God.” On this expression see our present volume, Chap. VIII. note 112. According to *Herodotus* (I. 178), Babylon was 480 stadia in circuit, and the same extent is ascribed to Nineveh by *Diodorus Siculus*, who adds: *τηλικαύτην δὲ πόλιν οὐδεὶς ὕστερον ἔκτισε κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος μεγαλοπρέπειαν.* *Strabo*, on the other hand, expressly says (XVI. 1, 3): *Νῆνος ἡ πόλις πολὺ μείζων ἦν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος.* Comp. *Jos. Matt. Hase's* (Professor of Mathematics at Wittenberg): *Demagnitudine comparata et determinata urbium, quae propter magnitudinem celebres habentur, potissimum in antiquitate itemque nostris temporibus inquisitio*, p. 22, of his *Regni Davidici et Salomonei Descriptio*, Nuremberg, 1739, fol.

38. *מחלך שלשה ימים.* Some, as *Hase* (loc. cit.), understand this of the length of the city, which seems

countenanced by Jon. iii. 4, where it is said that Jonah "went into the city a day's journey.

39. II. 3.

40. Diodor. Sic. ut antea.

40^a. Diodor. Sic. II. 26. Ἦν οὐ αὐτῷ λόγιον παραδεδομένον ἐκ προγόνων ὅτι τὴν Νῆνον οὐδεὶς ἔλη κατὰ κράτος, εἰὰν μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γένηται πολέμιος. Some expositors have conjectured, and not without probability, that there is a reference to this circumstance in the prediction of the downfall of Nineveh by the prophet Nahum. Thus in ch. i. 8, "with an overflowing flood he will make a full end," and in ch. ii. 6, "The stream breaks through the gates, and down falls the palace." Yet in the former passage a destroying flood may represent the number and impetuosity of the besieging army.

41. *Annall.* L. XII. Cap. 13. Tramissoque amne Tigri, permeant Adiabenos. — Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae.

42. L. XVIII. Cap. 7. Postquam reges Nineve Adiabene ingenti civitate transmissa rel. L. XXIII. Cap. 6, § 22. In hac Adiabene Ninus est civitas, quae olim Persidis regna possederat, nomen Nini, potentissimi quondam regis, Semiramidis mariti, declarans. A castle of Nineveh, حصن نينوى, is mentioned in the thirteenth century, by Abulfaraj, in the Arabian Chronicle (Histor. Dynast. p. 404, 441), and in the Syrian, p. 464.

43. רחבת עיר.

44. Not "streets of *the* city," i. e. of Nineveh, for in this case, as is correctly remarked by *Bochart*,

(Phaleg. IV. 21, p. 289), it would have been רַחְבֹּת, the article being required before the second noun. See *Gesenius* Lehrgeb. p. 660. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. Part I. p. 241.

45. Thus Bochart, loc. cit. along with the LXX. ῥῆν 'Ρωβῶνδρον, Saadiah, قرية الرحبة and the Arab. رحبوت البلد. In like manner, the town in Bœotia, famous for the defeat of the Persians, was called Plataea, Πλαταιαί (for πλατεῖαι), q. d. "streets."

46. The Samaritan translator has rendered רַחְבֹּת עֵיר by סטכן. An Assyrian city, Sittake, from which one of the southernmost provinces of Assyria was called Sittakene, is mentioned by Ptolemy (VI. 1), who places it far to the east of the Tigris. It must have therefore been a different town of the same name through which Xenophon passed (Anabas. II. 47), on the east bank of the Tigris, probably on the site of old Bagdad. But whether either of these places was in the eye of the Samaritan translator (who shews but little acquaintance with geography) is very uncertain. A place called *Rechoboth on the Euphrates*,^a רַחְבֹּת הַנָּהָר, is mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 37, as the birth-place of Saul, a prince of the Edomites. But, as *Bochart* observes, (loc. cit.), this could not have been the Rechoboth in question, as the locality was too far from Assyria. Yet Schulthess (Des Paradies, p. 117),

^a Literally, "Rechoboth of the river," or "by the river," as in the authorized version.—M.

holds Rechoboth Ir, to have been the same as the Rechoboth of Saul. *Bochart* supposes the former place to have been that which is called by *Ptolemy*, BIRTHA, and by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (XX. 7, 17), Virta : (Virtam adoriri disposuit [Sapores], monimentum valde vetustum in extremo quidem Mesopotamiae situm etc.). But this rests merely upon the slight resemblance of the name to the Chaldee word בִּרְתָּא (pronounced *Beritha*, but it ought, no doubt, to be sounded *Baraita*), which in the Talmud, signifies "a street," like the Heb. רִחוּב. And, besides the weakness of this analogy, Rechoboth Ir lay on the east side of the Tigris, in Assyria, and not on the west side, in Mesopotamia or Babylonia. *Michaelis* (loc. cit. p. 243), follows Ephrem the Syrian, who, in his Comment. takes Rechoboth Ir for Chadyab i. e. Adiabene. See above note 23. He must be understood as merely conjecturing that it lay in the province of Adiabene, for a town of that name is nowhere mentioned. *Michaelis*, indeed, endeavours to find one in the passage adduced from *Ammianus Marcellinus* (XVIII. 7), in note 42. He quotes : Reges Ninive, Adiabene ingenti civitate transmissa transiere laetissimi, and then adds : habemus ergo hic Adiabenen, ingentem civitatem, in Assyria maxime propria non procul ab aliquo Zabi fluminis ponte sitam, sed nostris geographis ignotam, et cujus rudera nemo adhuc, quantum scio, descripsit. But in the above cited passage of *Ammianus*, we must read throughout *Adiabena* or *Adiabenes*, so that the "ingens civitas," is Nineveh.

48. XI. 4, 8: XI. 13, 12. It is there said, that Armenus, with the colonists he led forth, dwelt between Atilisine and Syspiritis, ἕως Καλαχανῆς καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς, ἔξω τῶν Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν ὄρων: and at the beginning of Book XVI. Χαλακηνή is mentioned among the provinces of Assyria.

49. VI. 1. Καλακίνη.

50. חלח. *Michaelis*, in his *Spicileg. Geogr.* Part I. p. 245, alleges as a reason why חלח and חלח cannot be identical, that the two letters ח and ח are never found interchanged. But this is not correct, as had previously been shewn by *Bochart*, loc. cit. Part I. Lib. IV. cap. 22, p. 291, who brings forward several instances of such a commutation. Thus in the Second Targum at Esth. vi. 12, there is חסחח for חסחח, “to be cast down.” In Arabic, both كنز and خزن signify “to lay aside, to hoard up treasure.” Other examples will be found in *Gesenius’* Lexicon, under the letter ح.

51. حُلْوَان, حُلْوَان, حُلْوَان. See *Assemani’s* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. 418, et seqq., and *Abulfeda* in *Busching’s* Magazine, Part IV. p. 262, who makes the distance of this place from Bagdad five days’ journey.^a

^a “Holwân est ultima urbium ‘Irâcae; inde adscenditur ad el-Gêbâl. Fructuum ceterorum omnium ficus copiosissimas profert; neque in ‘Irâca est urbs quae prope accedat ad montem, praeter hanc, et cadunt in monte ejus nives. Et Ibn Haucal utique dicit: Holwân est urbs in pede montis, qui imminet ‘Irâcae, ibique sunt palmae et ficus celebres; nix ab ea abest unius diei itinere. Et dicit in el-Moschtareko: Holwân

52. *J. D. Michaelis* (Spicileg. Part I., 245), follows Ephrem the Syrian, who, in his Comment. at Gen. x. 11, takes כְּלֶח for ܟܬܪܐ Chetro. But as there were two places of this name, one in Mesopotamia, on the west bank of the Tigris, and another in Maraga, not far from the source of the Lycus, quite in the east of Assyria, Michaelis takes כְּלֶח for the latter of these places. Comp. *Assemani*, loc. cit. Tom III. Part I. p. 485, and Part II. p. 709. But Ephrem probably intended rather the Chetro of Mesopotamia, not far from Takrit. Comp. the extracts from the Syrian lexicographers Bar-Bahlul, and Bar-Ali, in the Preface to *Gesenius'* Heb. Lexicon, p. 24 of the second Edit. This Chetro is doubtless the Chatra-charta of Ptolemy (VI. 1.) i. e. חֲטְרָא קְרָתָא, "the city Chatra." *Abulfeda* mentions it in his description of Mesopotamia (in Paulus Repertor, Part III. p. 30), under the name of الحضر, El-Chatr, with the remark, that it was an ancient, but then desolate town, and that there was also a city of the same name between Mecca and Medina. The opinion of Saadias, that Kalach was Obolla, a place on the Shat-el-Arab, near Bassora, is quite untenable.

53. רסן. Comp. above, chap. viii. note 74. The LXX. have read רסן, with dalet, for they write, Δασέμ. *Assemani* (Bibl. Or. Tom. III. Part II. p. 743), mentions an Assyrian city of a very similar name, ܕܫܢ, Dasena, which was the see of a bishop, who was est ultimus limes 'Irâcae a regione Gēbāl; inter eam et Bagdādum est iter quinque dierum. Holwān est quoque pagus super el-Fas'tāt ad duas parasangas, imminens Nilo." Wustenfeld's *Abulfeda*, p. 20.—M.

a suffragan of the Metropolitan of Adiabene. Yet the rest of the ancient translators who have preserved the Hebrew name, write it with the ʾ resh. [See the note from Rich, at p. 174.]

54. Phaleg. Lib. IV. cap. 23, p. 291.

55. Book III. cap. 3.

56. Besides this Assyrian Larissa, there were nine or ten towns of this name in Western Asia and Greece. See the Index to *Cellarii* Notit. Orbis Antiqui.

57. ܐܝܢ. If Ressin were the same town as Rish-Ain (which, however, is doubtful; see the next note), then it would not be improbable that the former name was an abbreviated mode of pronouncing the original name, ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ, Rish-Ain, which words signify “caput fontis.” For Ephrem says, in his Comment. at Gen. x. 12, that ܐܝܢ Rassa, which he puts for the Hebrew רסר (the Peschito has ܐܝܢ), was ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ, and Assemani remarks (ibid. p. 709), that Ephrem did not here mean the Rish-Ain, lying in Mesopotamia, but another in Assyria, beyond the Tigris, “quae Thomae Margensi in historia monastica dicitur ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ *Rhesin*, vicus Saphsaphre, in regione Margae.”

58. Immediately after the words quoted at the end of the foregoing note, *Assemani* adds: in Chronico Dionysii, Jacobitarum Patriarchae, ad annum 772, inter urbes regionis Mosulanae, quae Arabes depopulati feruntur, recensetur ܐܝܢ, quam esse *Resen* Scripturae, nullus dubito. Ibi enim conjungitur cum Bethgarma, Hasa, Marga, Chonizapor, Coch et Salacha, quae sunt urbes Assyriae. It is not clear whether the Rish-Ain of Ephrem and the Ressin of Assemani be different

towns, or only different names for the same town. *Assemani* seems to incline to the latter opinion; and *Michaelis* (*Spicileg.* Part I. p. 248), has no doubt of it, and, moreover, builds upon the meaning of "Rish-Ain," (*caput fontis*), the supposition that Resen lay not far from Schehrezur, where the river Diala has its source, between Nineveh and Maraga. Yet it is more likely that Rish-Ain and Ressin, were different places.^a

59. القوش, in *Assemani*, Tom. III. Part I. p. 352, note.

60. *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part II. p. 352.

61. This is *Eichhorn's* opinion in his *Introduct.* Part III. § 585, p. 317 of the third edit.

62. *Jerome* says (*Comment. on Nahum*, i. 1.) *Helcesei*, usque hodie in Galilæa viculus est, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum aedificiorum indicans vestigia, sed tamen notus Judæis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus.

63. *Jahn* (in his *Introd.* Part II. p. 509,) takes *Elkesei*, in Galilee, for the birth-place of Nahum, and *Elkush*, in Assyria, for a town built in later times, as it is mentioned by no ancient writer. But where have we a complete description of Assyria by any ancient writer? [It appears from *Rich's* work on Kourdistan, that there is still a town, Al-Kosh, near Baadli, the capital of the Yezids, (*Vol. II.* p. 88, 9). It is entirely inhabited by Chaldæans.

^a "Resin or Ras-ul-Ain, i. e. head of the waters, is an old place and convent under the mountain, at the farthest extremity of the vale of Naoker (near Mosul)." *Rich's* Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 81.—M.

On the right of it, about a mile higher up the mountain, is the Chaldæan convent of Rabban Hormuz, of which a very striking view is given by Rich (Vol. II. p. 99). The people of Al-kosh are a very stout independent set, and can muster about 400 musketeers, (p. 100). He adds (p. 111), "I am ashamed to say, a very remarkable circumstance had escaped my notice until I was made aware of it to-day by Matran Hanna. Al-kosh was the birth-place of the prophet Nahum, and also his burial-place. His tomb is still shewn there, and Jews from all parts come on pilgrimage to it. I must here remark, that the Jews are generally to be trusted for local antiquities. Their pilgrimage to a spot is almost a sufficient test.^a From Al-kosh people go in seven days to Urmiah; viz. two to Amadia, two to Julamerk, three to Urmiah."]

64. *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 3. Comp. *Cellarius* Notit. Orbis Antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 17, § 15.

65. *Arrian*, III. 15. *Curtius* IV. 9: V. 1.

66. ^٥اريل. See *Schultens* Index Geogr. to his Edit. of the "Vita Saladini" under *Arbela*; and *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio* [by Abulfeda], Edit. Uylenbroek, p. 54 of the Arab. text.

67. *Travels*, Part II. p. 342: "On the 14th of March (1766) we travelled three and a half [German] miles, as far as Arbil اربيل. This is no doubt the

^a Marius, in a letter to Busbequius, quoted in *Assemani*, speaks of Alcus (Alkosh) as the country of Nahum the prophet, and celebrated, both by Jews and Christians, as containing his tomb.—*Asseman.* I. p. 525.

same place as Arbela, which became famous from the battle between Alexander and Darius. It had, for many years, its own hereditary Mahommedan princes, whose territory extended into Persia as far as Tauris. The town was then very large, and had a castle on a lofty eminence. At present there are the remains of this castle (but without a wall), and some houses, on the brow of the hill, built of burnt brick; but below the hill, where stood the former city, are only a few mean cottages."

[The following is a more recent description by Rich: "We mounted again at twelve, and travelling in a north direction, at half-past one came in sight of Arbil, bearing N. 10 E.; soon after which I took a sketch of it [given in his work], the view of the high flat mount, probably the burial-place of the Arsacidæ, crowned by a castle, and backed by the Carduchian mountains, being really very impressive. The people of Arbil are Koords and Turks. All around are ruins or rather heaps of rubbish. Remains of the wall and ditch are traceable. The town was once evidently very large, probably about the size of modern Bagdad. Arbil is situated at the foot of the artificial mount, principally on the south side, and contains a bath, caravanserais and bazaars. Some portion of the town is situated on the Mount, or what is called the Castle. On the east, or a little north of the town, is a hollow called the Valley of Tchekunem, where it is said Tamerlane's tent was pitched when he besieged Arbil. A holy sheikh of Arbil struck a panic into his army, which began to disperse; and Tamerlane is reported to have cried out in Persian,

“Tchekunem?” that is, “What shall I do?” and this gave name to the valley or hollow.

The artificial mount on which the castle of Arbil stands, is, I conjecture, about 150 feet high; and 300 or 400 yards in diameter. It was once, doubtless, much higher, and it is probable the summit of it was mined by Caracalla. Some time ago, when Hagee Abdulla Bey was building on this mount, he dug up a sepulchre, in which was a body laid in state, quite perfect, the features fully recognizable; but it fell to dust shortly after it had been exposed to the air. If, as I believe, this was the burial place of Arsacidæ, may not this have been the body of a Parthian king? Hajee Cossim Bey informed me that the interior of the mount is divided into compartments by brick work, composed of large bricks, with no inscriptions on them, as he ascertained by digging into it from a sirdaub or cellar in his house, which stands in the castle.” *Rick's Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 14—18. No. I. of his Appendix, contains Astronomical Observations made at Arbil, and No. II. “Notes on the Battle of Arbela.”]

68. בית ארבאל.

69. See the Hebrew Lexicons, under בית.

70. Antiq. XIV. 15. Jewish War, L. 16. 2.

71. חבור. Chabor.

72. VI. 1. ὁ Καβώρας ὁ ὄρεος. On the double river Chaboras, see the passage from Yakuti in *Schultens' Geogr. Index to the Life of Saladin*. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 718.

73. כבר, Chebar. Ezek. i. 3; iii. 15, 23.

74. Comp. *Rennell's Geogr. of Herodotus*. Some

take Gosan for a country of Northern Mesopotamia, the Gauzanitis of Ptolemy (VI. 18.) But the "cities of Media" (which are mentioned along with Chalach, Chabor and Gozan, 2 Kings xvii. 6,) point to a more distant region.

75. קיר. Kir.

76. See *Michaelis*, Spicileg. Part II. p. 121, and Suppl. ad Lexx. p. 2191. Comp. *Wahl's* Asia, p. 766. *Rennell*, ut supra.

77. See *Busching's* Magazin, Part X. p. 420.

78. کرجستان. *Wahl*, loc. cit. p. 472. *Bochart*, (Geogr. Sac. Part I. Lib. IV. cap. 32), thinks that קיר is the *Kouρήνα* of Ptolemy, a city in the interior of Media, on the river Mardus or Amardus, which runs into the Caspian Sea. Yet he adds: Nisi quis Iberiam intelligi malit et regionem ad Cyrum fluvium.

79. The Hebrew words in Gen. x. 11, מן-הארץ ההוא, יצא אשור ויבן את-נינוה, are rendered by Luther after several ancient translators: "Out of that land (Shinar, i. e. Babylonia) then came Assur, and built Nineveh." But the correct rendering is, without doubt, the following: "Out of this land (Shinar) went he forth (i. e. Nimrod, who is mentioned immediately before), into Assyria and built Nineveh." It may be argued in favour of this translation:—*First*, That it would be singular to find Asshur, a son of Shem (ver. 22,) introduced into the genealogy of Ham's posterity, to

* So our English Version: "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh." But the margin has, "or, he went out into Assyria."—M.

which Nimrod belonged. No less singular would it be, in the *second* place, were an action of Asshur (ver. 11) mentioned previous to his birth, (ver. 22.) *Thirdly*, The circumstance of Asshur having left one country to settle in another, would scarcely have deserved notice, as this was, in fact, true of almost all the descendants of Noah. But if we understand the words as referring to Nimrod, according to the above translation, then both verses are seen to have a natural and obvious connection. "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneb, in the land of Shinar;" but he subsequently extended his empire, "and went forth from that land (Shinar) to Assyria," which he conquered, "and built Nineveh," &c. No doubt would have existed as to the correctness of this rendering, had the writer, instead of אשור, used אשוריה, with the final ה *locale*. But it is well known that the addition of the ה *locale* is often dispensed with, (see instances in *Noldius' Concordant. Particul.* p. 223, ed. Tymp.); and it is the less necessary here, as verbs signifying, "to go to a place," are construed with the corresponding nouns in the accusative. See *Gesenius' Lehrgeb.* d. Heb. Sprache, p. 685 and 808.

80. In *Diod. Sicul.* II. 1, etc.

81. See above, Chap. VIII. Notes 29 and 111.

82. According to this writer, he conquered the whole of Western Asia, Babylonia and Media; and at length his dominion extended from the Nile to the Tanais, that is, from south to north. Attacking the Bactrians with an army of nearly two millions of men, he was at first defeated, but afterwards retrieved

his losses, and laid siege to Oxyartes in Bactria, yet for a long time to no purpose. Then appeared Semiramis, daughter of the goddess Derketo,—nourished by doves, and vying with goddesses in beauty and understanding,—and showed him the way to effect the capture of the city. The king was enchanted with the heroine's beauty, and married her. After a reign of fifty-two years, he died, having been, according to Dinon, (in *Ælian. Var. Hist. VII. 1*), murdered by the queen. She succeeded him in the government, disguised, as some maintain, like her son Ninyas. She built Babylon in an incredibly short space of time, and likewise several other towns (chiefly for commerce) on the Euphrates and Tigris; she erected an obelisk on the great road of the empire, laid out an extensive park at Mount Bagistanum in Media, and caused the statue of herself, with a hundred guards, to be hewn out at the foot of the mountain, and an inscription to be engraven on the rock. (These monuments are still extant at the mountain Bisutun, between Holwan and Ecbatana.)^a She moreover caused a great lake to be dug for leading off the Euphrates, formed several spacious gardens, supplied Ecbatana with water, beautified that city, and made roads be ingeniously cut through the mountains, &c. She conquered the greatest part of Libya and Æthiopia, then made war against an Indian prince with a great army and a fleet on the Indus; but here she was defeated, and died,—according to some, in the battle—according to others, soon after.....The Semiramis mentioned by Hero-

^a See Vol. I. p. 310.—M.

dotus (I. 184), as having flourished about two hundred years before Cyrus, must have been different from this. *Volney* has attempted to ascertain the historical facts regarding Semiramis from these traditions, in his *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, P. III. Ch. 8. p. 79.

83. The sources whence the facts of ancient Assyrian History must be drawn, in the absence of native historians, are the Old Testament, Herodotus, and Ctesias. It is no easy matter to reconcile the two latter with the first, or with each other. It is not likely that Ctesias had read Herodotus, or has had it in view to rectify his mistakes, for nothing of this is hinted at by Diodorus Siculus, who sometimes gives the accounts of both writers (*e. g.* II. 32), and leaves the reader to decide for himself. As these two historians, in speaking of the origin and duration of the Assyrian and Median empires,—though they both pretend to draw from authentic sources—contradict each other as grossly as if they were writing of different countries,—we have, in our sketch of the history of Assyria, been guided by the few but sure lights afforded by the Old Testament Scripture.

84. פֹּרִי. *Gesenius*, in his *Lexicon*, takes this to be identical with פִּיל, *an elephant*,—a name, however, which might rather be expected to designate an Indian, than an Assyrian monarch. The syllable *Pal, Pil, Pul*, which occurs in several names of Assyrian kings, is probably from the Persian, בָּלָא *Bala*, “high, exalted,” and may have belonged to the title which those kings bore.

85. Hosea says, (ch. v. 13):

When Ephraim felt his sickness,
 And Judah his wound :
 Then went Ephraim to Assur,
 And Judah to a king who might fight for him.

And again, ch. x. 6, in speaking of the golden calf, which was worshipped as an idol :

And this also shall be carried away to Assyria,
 As a present to the king who defends Ephraim.*

86. תגלת פלסר, תלגת פלסר, 2 Kings xvi. 7, תלגת פלנאסר, 1 Chron. v. 6, and תלגת פלנאסר, 1 Chron. v. 26. The second word added to the original name is, according to *Lorsbach's* probable conjecture, (Archiv. für Morgenl. Literat. Part II. p. 247), equivalent to the Persian *بالا سر*, "great or exalted prince"—from *بالا* *high, exalted* and *سر* *chief, prince*. Of the first word, תגלת or תלגת, no plausible explanation can be given from the modern Persian. *Von Bohlen* explains the name Thiglath-pileser by *تغیل اذر* : *Tiglad-pil-adser*, gladius intrepidus (est) elephas ignis, *i. e.* Dei (Symbolæ, p. 24). But this appears far-fetched; besides that it cannot be shown that *آذر* or *آزر* *Fire*, though a symbol of the divinity, and the object of worship, was ever used as a name of God.

* In both these places, our English Version has "King Jareb." But though that be obviously incorrect, it is not so easy to discover the true interpretation.—M.

87. See above, at note 75.

88. On the identity of these names, in so far as they designate the same monarch, see *Ilgen* on Tobit i. 2, note g. *Von Bohlen* (loc. cit. p. 23,) explains the name שלמנאסר from the Persian شَرمان آزر *Scharman-azer*, verecundus erga ignem.

89. See *Menander* of Ephesus in *Josephus* Archæol. IX. 14. 2.

90. The name סרגון is explained by *Von Bohlen* (loc. cit.) from زرگون *Sergun*, gold-coloured. *Gesenius*, (Lexicon, p. 540, 2nd Edit.), conjectures سر جونه *Serdjauneh*, "Prince of the Sun."

91. סנחריב, in *Herodotus* II. 141. Σαναχάρβος, βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. Comp. *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah xxxvi. 1. p. 938. He there tries to explain the name from the Persian words سن *Sen*, holy, and هرید *Herid* or هربد *Herbed*, most reverend, or a priest, i. e. "most holy priest." But in his Lexicon, (p. 536 of the second Edit.), he has adopted *Von Bohlen's* interpretation (loc. cit. p. 26), viz. from سانجرب *Sangerb*, "Splendour of the conqueror."

92. These accounts are given by *Berosus* in the Armenian Translation of Eusebius' Chronicle. See *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah (p. 999, et seqq.) where it is likewise observed, that *Arrian* (Exped. of Alex. II. 5), and *Strabo* (XIV. 4, 8) ascribe the erection of the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in Cilicia to Sardanapalus, and that there was shown there, even in the time of Alexander, a statue of that monarch in

stone, with an Assyrian inscription. The identity of Sennacherib and Sardanapalus has likewise been maintained by *Ditmar* in his Hist. of the Israelites till the time of Cyrus, p. 317. No doubt what Ctesias relates (in Diod. Sic. II. 24) about Belesis, vice-roy or governor of Babylonia, stirring up, first, his friend the king of Arabia [Hezekiah], and then Arbaces the Mede against Sardanapalus, suits very well what is mentioned in the Old Testament of Mero-dach Baladan. See the last chap. note 121. But, on the other hand, the narrative of Ctesias, regarding the death of Sardanapalus and his being the last king of Assyria, does not agree with the Bible accounts of Sennacherib. Yet, perhaps, "Sardanapalus" was a royal title, common to more than one Assyrian monarch, q. d. *سر دانا بالا Sar-dana-bala*, i. e. "wise, exalted prince."^a In this case, it is quite possible that Ctesias may have, by mistake, mixed up the transactions of two reigns, and thrown them into one. As to the general credit due to his accounts of Assyrian history, see note 95 below.

93. With this agrees what Moses of Chorene relates in his Armenian History (I. 22, p. 60), from an old MS. found by Mar Ibas in the library at Nineveh, and translated out of the Chaldee, viz. that the sons of Senacherim (who reigned in the time of Hezekiah), Adramel and Sanasar, after they had murdered their father, found an asylum with Skaïord, the king of Armenia. And to Sanasar was given by

^a *Winer* concurs in this opinion, Bibl. Diction. I. p. 122. Comp. *Suidas* in voc.—M.

Skaïord the district of Mount Sim, which was peopled by his posterity.

94. אסר-חדון. No plausible explanation of this name from the Persian has yet been found. In Tobit i. 21, the name is written in the Vatican MS. Σαρχεδονός, in the Alexandrian Σαρχεδών. In the "Itala" version it is Archedonassar; in the Syriac translation of Tobit, it is ܣܪܚܕܢܙܘܪ Sarchedonzor. In the canon of Ptolemy he is called Asaradinus. Comp. *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, p. 977, 1002. Whether "the great and famous Osnappar" [Asnapper] (אסנפּר רבא ויקירא), who sent colonies out of several Assyrian provinces to Samaria, was a governor or a general of Esarhaddon, or was that king himself under a peculiar name, it is impossible to determine.

95. See Ctesias in *Diodor. Sicul.* II. 24—27. According to Moses of Chorene (loc. cit. p. 55), Paroir was the last Armenian prince who lived under the Assyrian rule. He was an auxiliary to the Mede Varbak (Arbaces) in the overthrow of Sardanapalus. Paroir was the son of Skaïord mentioned in note 93, as the cotemporary of Sennacherib. From this circumstance, the brothers Whiston, (in a note to Moses of Chorene, p. 60), draw the following just inference; Si Armeniæ imperitaverit Scaeordius, quo tempore Sennacherimus, Assyriorum rex, occisus fuit, et si Paroerius, Scaeordii filius, Sardanapalo regnante vixerit, annon inde sequitur, ut Esarhaddon Assyrius, qui Sennacherimo patri successit, idem sit ac Sardanapalus, Assyriorum rex postremus? Nomen ipsum *Asordan*, ut Graeci interpretes reddidere, ad *Sardanapali* similitudinem quam proxime accedit, atque in hac

sententia videtur fuisse Josephus, qui sub Ezechia rege Assyriorum imperium eversum scribit, *Antiqq.* X. 2. Several other arguments in support of the identity of Esarhaddon and Sardanapalus, have been advanced by *Kalinsky* in his *Vaticinia Chabacuci et Nachumi*, itemque nonnulla Jesajae, Micheae et Ezechielis oracula observationibus historico-philologicis ex historia Diodori Siculi circa res Sardanapali illustrata, Breslau. 1748, 4to, cap. 6, 7, 8, p. 75, et seqq. *Volney* arrives at the same conclusion by a different process, in his *Recherches Nouvelles*, Part II. p. 127, 142—145. Some recent writers have erroneously confounded Sardanapalus with Phul, and have had recourse to the notion of two Assyrian monarchies, an early and a later, the former ending with Sardanapalus. To this they have been driven by their attempts to reconcile the conflicting accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias. *Herodotus* (I. 95) fixes the duration of the Assyrian dominion in Upper Asia at 520 years. *Ctesias*, on the other hand, (in *Diod. Sic.* II. 21), assigns to the Assyrian Empire, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, thirty successive kings during a period of 1306 years, (not 1360, as in most of the editions of Diodorus. See Wesseling in loc. and *Volney*, p. 104, note.) To make these two statements accord, has been attempted by many chronologers and antiquaries, but hitherto without success. Very elaborate researches have been made on this point by *Fourmont*, in his *Reflexions critiques sur les histoires des anciens peuples*, Tom. II. p. 301, et seqq. He passes in review the earlier inquiries of *Pezron*, *Sevin*, and *Freret*; but, in endeavouring to reconcile

the great discrepancies of the two historians, he has had recourse to hypotheses as fanciful and precarious as those of his predecessors. *Volney* (loc. cit. p. 191, note), has proved that the accounts of Herodotus are alone worthy of credit, and with great acuteness has rendered it probable, that Ctesias has intentionally and systematically doubled the number of Assyrian kings, and the years of their government, for the purpose of favouring certain political views of the Persian king, at whose court he lived.

96. Yet there seems to have been, still later, under Esarhaddon, an Assyrian inroad into Judæa, in which, according to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, the Jewish king Manasseh was carried captive. See *Ditmar*, loc. cit. p. 337. No notice is taken of this incident in the book of Kings; and in the passage of Chronicles, the name of the Assyrian monarch is not mentioned.

97. *Zend-Avesta* by *Kleuker*, Appendix, Book I. Part I. p. 36, note.

CHAPTER X.

MESOPOTAMIA.

THE name of *Mesopotamia*, *i. e.* “the land between the rivers,” was commonly given by the Greeks, and after them by the Romans, to that extensive tract of country, which lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, from their sources to the neighbourhood of Babylon.¹ It is situated between the thirty-third and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude, the length being about ninety German miles [upwards of 400 English], and the breadth very irregular, but generally much less. The Greeks, no doubt, formed the name *Mesopotamia*, after the analogy of the Syriac *Beth-Nahrin*;² and this must have happened in the time of Seleucus, or his successors, who reigned over this country, and founded towns in it,—for the name does not occur either in Herodotus or Xenophon. Arrian³ calls it “Assyria between the Euphrates and Tigris.” It was called by the Hebrews *Aram-Naharaim*,⁴ *i. e.* “Aram, or Syria of the two rivers,” and *Paddan-Aram*,⁵ *i. e.* the Plain of Syria; also the Field of Syria.⁶ The common Arabic name at

the present day is, *El-Jezirah*,⁷ i. e. the Island or Peninsula.

According to the limits assigned by Abulfeda,⁸ Mesopotamia is bounded on the west by Armenia, Asia Minor, and Syria, especially the Syrian Desert; on the south by the Desert of Arabia and by Babylonia, or Arabian Irak; on the east by Kurdistan; and on the north by Great Armenia. Mesopotamia forms at present a part of the Turkish Empire, and comprises the governments (Eyalet),⁹ of Rakka, Diarbekr, Mosul, and a part of the government of Bagdad.¹⁰

According to the observation of Olivier,¹¹ who travelled through a part of the country, Mesopotamia may be divided into four regions, which differ materially in regard to the elevation, quality and productions of the soil, as well as the temperature of the air. The *first* or most northerly region, reaches from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, about lat. 39° N. to lat. 37° 20', including the town of Semisat, on the Euphrates, Sœverek at the foot of Mount Taurus, Merdin at Mount Masius, and Jezire on the Tigris. This region formerly belonged to Great Armenia, and was called Sophene. The only considerable city which is at present reckoned to belong to it is Diarbekr, the seat of a pacha of the first rank. This part of Mesopotamia is elevated, mountainous, very fruitful, and rich in water-springs. The winter is cold, and from

October to April there is much snow and rain ; but it is only the tops of the highest hills that are covered with snow during the whole year. The summer is dry, very pleasant on the higher grounds, hot and sultry in the plains and vallies. The pastures are excellent ; corn and fruits are produced in abundance. The vine and mulberry-tree are also cultivated. The exports consist of silk, gall-nuts, gum-tragacanth, goats'-hair, wool, honey, wax, and a little cotton. The hills are for the most part covered with forests of oak, fir, pine, maple, ash, chestnut, and terebinth. Oil is obtained from the *sesamus* and the seed of the *ricinus*. There are several copper-mines, which are almost as rich as those of Erzeroum and Trebisonde. At Keban and Argana there are mines of silver, lead, and even gold, the produce of which is sent to Constantinople. Many extinct volcanoes are to be seen in the district. The towns and villages of this first region are inhabited by Turks, Kurds, and Armenians, who pursue agriculture and trade, labour in the mines, and manufacture leather, woollen and cotton stuffs, and copper vessels. The Kurds, however, are mostly shepherds. Their villages are almost wholly abandoned during a great part of the year—the inhabitants moving down in the winter with their wives, children and flocks, to the more temperate parts of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, where they are sure of finding pastures in abun-

dance; while in summer they betake themselves to the mountains of Armenia, Azerbijan and Persia, where the melting of the snows, and the coldness of the climate, preserve the verdure fresh during the hottest seasons.

The *second* region extends from lat. $37^{\circ} 20'$ to 35° N.—Within its compass lie the towns of Birth, Orfa, Ras-el-Ain, Nisibis, Mosul,—the mountains of Sanjar,^a and the district of Ras-el-Ain. The rivers Khabur and Alhauki traverse it as far as the district of Kerkesieh. This was the Mesopotamia Proper of the ancients, which was divided into two provinces, Osrhoene on the west, and Mygdonia on the east. This part of Mesopotamia lies a little lower than the former, and is almost entirely level, with the exception of the mountains of Sanjar, which are nearly isolated, and the districts around Orfa and Ras-el-Ain, where there are a few small ir-

^a Commonly written Sinjar, and by some supposed to be the Shinar of scripture. See Chap. VIII. note 4. It is the country of the Yezids, or devil-worshippers, and is called by the Koords, Zingharra. *Rich*, in his work on Koordistan, after remarking that the inhabitants of Baasheka, a village near Mosul, are partly composed of Yezids, who call themselves Dassini, adds, in a note: "Dasin is another name for Sinjaar, and all the Yezids called Dassinis seem to have been originally from Sinjaar. The others, though possessing the same faith, are never called Dassinis." *Rich's Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 68, 86. Yet at p. 121 it is said the Dassinis are the Yezids about Mosul, and that the Sinjarlis are never so called.—M.

regularly formed hills. Between Birth and Mosul are to be seen the remains of many extinct volcanoes; and Mount Sanjar also appears to belong to that class. This region is far more fertile and rich in natural productions than the first, but much less cultivated. The climate is very mild in winter; it seldom freezes, and only in those parts which are contiguous to the former region. The heat is very great in summer, and continues till the middle of harvest. Towards the end of winter, and at the beginning of spring, much rain falls, but considerably less in harvest. The summer is very dry. If this region received more moisture, either from rain or by means of artificial irrigation, it would be inferior to no country in the abundance and variety of its products. When the spring-rains are tolerably copious, the barley and wheat reach a great height, and yield thirty and forty-fold. The pastures are extremely rich, and the flocks very numerous. The inhabitants raise all kinds of corn and pulse, some rice, and a great deal of sesam and cotton. The vine, the olive, and the mulberry, thrive uncommonly well, but they are found in small quantity. Many bees are reared, and yield excellent honey. Of oranges, lemons, and all the finer kinds of fruit, there is here the greatest abundance. Under a government that would favour agriculture and industry, and guarantee to the inhabitants security of property

and person, this part of Mesopotamia would soon become populous and affluent; for nowhere is the air more salubrious, or the soil more fruitful. But as the country is exposed to the predatory incursions of the Kurds on the one side, and of the Arabs on the other, it has become, in many parts, altogether depopulated; for the inhabitants being unable, from their small numbers, to resist these aggressions, have abandoned their fields and flocks, and have sought elsewhere the repose which they were unable to find in their native home.

The *third* region extends to the latitude of $33^{\circ} 40' N.$ —that is, to several miles north of Bagdad. The ancients reckoned it as belonging to Arabia, doubtless on account of the nature of the soil, which is the same here as in the north-west of Arabia. This part of Mesopotamia is quite flat, but unsusceptible of cultivation, except in the low grounds watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, the inundations of which leave a rich deposit of soil. Throughout this extensive desert, the colour of the ground is of a whitish grey, and it is generally impregnated with selenites, and even sea-salt. Gypsum is found to the depth of one or two feet. Bitumen is no less abundant, and is in many places seen flowing on the surface. During winter, there is very little frost, and it seldom rains; the summer is very dry, and excessively hot; yet there

are a great many plants and shrubs which retain their verdure and freshness unimpaired. The palm-trees on the river-banks early yield their fruit. Xenophon, when accompanying the expedition of the Younger Cyrus, saw here the wild ass and ostrich ;—a proof that this part of Mesopotamia was then as thinly inhabited as it is now. Ostriches are still found in abundance, but the wild ass is rarely met with, having retired into the mountainous and unfrequented parts of Persia, and perhaps into the interior of Arabia. The population of this part of Mesopotamia is confined to a few villages on the Tigris, and to certain Arab tribes, whose numbers are inconsiderable, and who traverse these plains in winter, in quest of pastures for their flocks, while in summer they draw towards the rivers, or the high countries of the second region. On the left bank of the Euphrates there is no human habitation beyond Kerkesieh, and on the right bank there is only Hit and Anath.

The *fourth* and last region commences at seven or eight leagues north-east of Bagdad, and a few leagues below Hit, and extends to the junction of the two rivers, about Lat. $30^{\circ} 50'$. It consists of land that is periodically overflowed, being a perfect flat, and, when it has been sufficiently watered, becomes extremely fruitful. This part of Mesopotamia, which properly be-

longs to ancient Babylonia, has, with respect to the temperature of the air, the quality of the soil, and the abundance of the produce, a strong resemblance to the Delta of the Nile. But the fields, before they can be made to yield a return, must be copiously watered, yet at the same time protected against sudden inundations, which are here very destructive from their impetuosity. Hence, the early inhabitants of the country made provision against this, by the construction of canals and dams, the remains of which are still in existence, and which admirably served the purposes at once of irrigation and defence.

From the middle of June till about the 21st of September, there occurs through the centre and south of Mesopotamia the hot and suffocating south-wind, called the Samūm,¹² *i. e. the poisonous*, by which the most luxuriant vegetation is speedily burnt up. Not unfrequently it brings from the interior of Arabia and the south of Persia, clouds of locusts, which prove as destructive to these countries, as is in Europe the intensest frost.¹³ They darken the sky in their dull and uniform flight, and the noise which they make is like that of a heavy shower of rain. In an instant, the terraced roofs of the houses, the roads and fields, are covered with these insects, and in the space of two days they will destroy the entire foliage. Fortunately,

their existence is of short duration, and they have in their train the *Samarmar*,^a or *Samarmog* (the *Turdus Roseus* of Linnæus), a bird of passage, which resorts in the winter to Hindostan and Africa, but during summer is found throughout Persia, Mesopotamia, and almost all Asia Minor. It appears to follow the locusts in their flight, not merely for the purpose of feeding upon them, but of destroying them; for it kills many more than it devours, and is the enemy of almost all insects. Hence, throughout the countries of the east, this bird is held in a kind of veneration, and a Mussulman will allow no one to kill or injure it. In the marshy swamps which line the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, lions find a covert; but they attain neither the majestic size nor the strength and daring of the lion of Africa. They generally prey upon the weaker animals that repair to the rivers to quench their thirst, and do not even venture to attack the wild boars, which are there very common.

Besides the Euphrates and Tigris which traverse Mesopotamia,^b the Bible mentions no other river of that country, except the Chaboras,

^a "The natural enemy of the locust is the bird *Semermar* (سمرمار), which is of the size of a swallow, and devours vast numbers of them; it is even said that the locusts take flight at the cry of that bird." *Burckhardt's Syria*, p. 239.—M.

^b See Vol. I. p. 57, 59.

in Hebrew the Chebar or Khebar,¹⁴ upon the banks of which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, planted a colony of Jews, among whom was Ezekiel the prophet. (Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 22, comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 15.) This large and navigable river, which is to be distinguished from the Assyrian *Chaboras*, (in Hebrew Chabor),¹⁵ rises in the Masian Mountains [Mons Masius], in the neighbourhood of Ras-el-Ain. Its various springs (called the Springs of Sahirye) form two rivulets, which afterwards unite into one stream, that runs into the Euphrates at Kerkissia. Pliny¹⁶ says, the water of this river, near its source, is remarkable for its pleasant flavour. Ammianus¹⁷ describes its banks as fertile and flourishing. Before it reaches Maakesie, it receives the river of Sinjar,¹⁸ the Mygdonius or Masius of the ancients, the Hermas of the east. In the last part of its course, when it flows westward towards the Euphrates, falling into that river at Kerkissia, it separates the southern part of Mesopotamia (or the Desert) from the northern. Procopius¹⁹ calls it a great river, and Julian was obliged to cross it with his army on a bridge of boats.²⁰

Towards the north, Mesopotamia is divided from Armenia by the southern branch of Mount Taurus. This range was called by the Hebrews Mash²¹ (Gen. x. 23), by the Greeks and Romans Mons Masius, and it now bears the name

of Mount Judi.^a It rises from the Euphrates above Samosata, runs for a great way due east, then turns to the south-east towards Nisibis, and gradually diminishing in height, reaches the Tigris, on the opposite bank of which it meets the far higher Gordiæan chain. A ramification of this Masian range runs on the east side of Mesopotamia farther south, and forms, not far from the Tigris, a mountain of no great extent, but of considerable elevation, which Ptolemy calls Singaras, a name preserved in "Sinjar," the designation which it still bears.

The north-eastern portion of Mesopotamia was called, by the Greeks and Romans, Mygdonia,²³ from the river Mygdonius, which issues from Mons Masius, and by which the district is

^a It is the mountain referred to in the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 294, and believed by some to be the Ararat of Scripture. "The Mahometans universally maintain, that it was on Mount Judi the ark first rested, and that it is Ararat, and not the mountain to which that name is given in Armenia. Hussein Aga maintained to me, that he has, with his own eyes, seen the remains of Noah's ark! He went to a Christian village, whence he ascended by a steep road of an hour to the summit, on which he saw the remains of a very large vessel of wood, almost entirely rotted, with nails of a foot long still remaining." In the third volume of Assemani, p. 214, occurs the following: "There is a monastery on the summit of Mount Cardu or Ararat. St. Epiphanius asserts, that in his time remains of the ark still existed, and speaks of relics of Noah's ark being found in 'Cardiærum Regionēs.'" Rich's Koordestan, II. p. 124, note. Comp. the Extracts from Berosus, given by Josephus.—M.

traversed. The capital was *Nisibis*, with which the Romans first became acquainted in the war of Lucullus against Armenia, and found to be a large, populous city, lying in a fertile country.²⁴ Lucullus took it and gave it at the peace to the Armenian prince Tigranes. But the Parthians soon after became masters of this country, and continued so till the time of Trajan, by whom Nisibis was retaken. Having been then strongly fortified by the Romans, it remained for two hundred years a bulwark of the Roman empire against the Persians, who, however, got possession of it after the death of Julian, and retained it until the overthrow of their empire by the Arabs. The place is still known by the name of Nisibin,²⁵ but is at present nothing more than a village of about a thousand inhabitants, dwelling in a hundred-and-fifty low and ill-built houses. It belongs to the pachalik of Bagdad; the commander (Musellim) is a Begh, who receives his tail from the Woiwode of Merdin. Among the inhabitants are found Armenians, Nestorians, and also some Jacobite Christians;²⁶ for in the middle age, Nisibin was the see of a Jacobite bishop and a Nestorian metropolitan. This city is often mentioned by Syrian writers under the name of Zoba and Zaubo;²⁷ whence J. D. Michælis conjectured, that in the country of Nisibin²⁸ was the Zoba or Aram-Zoba, with whose kings the Jewish monarchs, David and Solomon

waged war, 1 Sam. xiv. 47. 2 Sam. viii. 3, 5; x. 6, et seqq. 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 9, and Ps. lx. 2. This opinion has been very generally embraced. If it were correctly founded, it would appear that the kings of Aram-Zoba or Nisibis, had extended, by conquest, their dominion to the west bank of the Euphrates as far as Syria, —in which case their coming into collision with the Hebrews would be by no means improbable. But in the title of the sixtieth Psalm (ver. 2), it is said to have been composed when David was at war with Aram-Naharaim and Aram-Zoba. Now Nisibis lay in Mesopotamia or Aram-Naharaim, and the district formed part of that region; so that it could not well be described as different from it. Besides, in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, Zoba occurs in the midst of an enumeration of several border tribes, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines, with whom Saul carried on war. These circumstances combined, render the ancient opinion the more probable, namely, that Aram-Zoba was a territory or small state in Coele-Syria.²⁹

About ninety miles from Nisibin, in nearly a right line to the west, and towards the Euphrates, lies *Orfa* or *Urfa*, formerly *Edessa*, also called *Kallirhoe*, i. e. *the fine flowing*, from several remarkable fountains in the neighbourhood. From “*Kallirhoe*” was probably formed “*Er-Roha*,” the name given to this place by Arabic writers,

and from that came the modern name Orfa.³⁰ The Macedonians called it Antiochia,³¹ but the more ancient designation prevailed in after ages. That Orfa was originally the city Erech or Arach, founded by Nimrod (Gen. x. 10), is, as we before remarked (at p. 27), a tradition void of probability. The ancient and still important city of Orfa, contains a population of from thirty to forty thousand; it lies on the declivity of two hills, and is surrounded with a decayed wall. The houses are, upon the whole, better built than is customary in eastern cities, and the streets too are neater, and are kept comparatively cleaner, by means of water-courses of from two to three feet broad. The Mahomedan inhabitants, including Arabs, Kurds and 'Turks, make' up three-fourths of the population. The remainder consists of Jews and Armenians, the latter of whom, though severely oppressed, are very rich, as they have got almost the entire trade into their hands. They have here a church, over which an archbishop presides. Orfa is not only a considerable staple-town, but exports wheat, barley and pulse, the produce of the neighbouring district, and also jewellery, cotton-stuffs, and fine leather, which are manufactured in the town. There are here few vineyards. The Jews and Armenians prepare for domestic use, wine both red and white, which would be very good, if the vessels in which it is

kept did not impart to it a resinous flavour, which is very disagreeable to strangers. The access to the castle, which stands on the top of an eminence, is by a precipitous road, in some places hewn out of the rock. Among other ruins in the interior of the fortress, there is one near the wall next the city, of an oblong square construction, and having on each side a thick Corinthian pillar. It appears to have been a mausoleum, erected in the age of the Seleucidæ.³² In the time of our Saviour, Edessa was the capital of a territory Osrhoene, which had its own princes or kings. From the year B. C. 137, to A. D. 216, this small state was successively ruled by eight-and-twenty kings, who all bore the title of Abgar, a name which was formed from the Parthian word Avaghair, *i. e.* most excellent or distinguished.³³ According to an early tradition, one of them, who was a cotemporary of Christ,³⁴ sent a letter to our Lord, beseeching him to heal him of leprosy. The pretended epistle of Abgarus, along with Christ's reply, has been given by Eusebius, in his Church History,³⁵ but criticism has justly rejected both as spurious.³⁶

The following places in Mesopotamia are mentioned in the Bible :

1. *Ur-Casdim*,³⁷ *i. e.* Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham (Gen. xi. 27, 28), but which his father Terah left, along with his fa-

mily, for the purpose of migrating to Canaan (ver. 31.) Ammianus Marcellinus,³⁸ who was on the disastrous expedition of the Emperor Julian against Persia (in the fourth century of our era), mentions the castle of Ur, as lying in the north-eastern desert of Mesopotamia, between the river Tigris and Nisibis. In the same district of country where lay the Ur of Ammianus, Xenophon³⁹ had found, at the foot of the Gordisean (i. e. Kurdish) Mountains, a people called Chaldæans—so that to this the Hebrew name Ur-Casdim, “Ur in the land of the Chaldæans,” completely corresponds.⁴⁰ Ammianus describes the country as a desolate wilderness, where there was a scarcity of all the necessaries of life, and which was fit only for the occasional resort of nomadic shepherds. The neighbouring mountains have been from time immemorial the abode of robbers.

2. *Charan*,⁴¹ or, as Luther writes it, *Haran*,^{*} where Terah died on his way to Canaan, Gen. xi. 31. There is no doubt as to the site of this place, for it has retained its name unchanged through all succeeding ages. Abulfeda⁴² speaks of Charran,⁴³ as formerly a great city, which lay in an arid and bare tract of country, in the province of Diar-Modhar, that is in the north-

* So our English Translators; except in Acts vii. 2, where, following the Greek, they correctly write “Charran.”—M.

west part of Mesopotamia, bordering on the Euphrates. The Sabians or star-worshippers had there a chapel, which was named after Abraham. Among the towns which had been taken by the predecessors of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, Charran is enumerated. 1 Kings xix. 12. Isa. xxxvii. 12. It is also mentioned by Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 23), among the places which traded with Tyre.⁴⁴ And indeed its situation was favourable for commerce, inasmuch as here the great road which led from the Euphrates to the countries of the east,⁴⁵ branched off in directions; the one running eastward to Nisibis and Assyria, and the other southward into Babylonia. The Greeks and Romans called this city Carrae.⁴⁶ When Crassus was defeated in his first engagement with the Parthians, he fled to this place, but, attempting during night to make his way through the northern mountains to Armenia, he met his death at Sinnaka.⁴⁷ When Niebuhr⁴⁸ was passing through Orfa in the year 1766, he heard that Carran was a small place, two days' journey south south-east of Orfa, and very much frequented by Jews. [Rennell fixes its long. at $39^{\circ} 2' 45''$ E. and its latitude at $36^{\circ} 40'$ N. The Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the twelfth century, appears to have found it then altogether decayed. The ruins of a castle are still seen;—but, indeed, the lawless

manners of the Bedouins in that quarter have deterred most recent travellers from visiting Charran. ^a]

3. *Thel-Abib*, ⁴⁹ a place on the river Chaboras, where was a colony of the expatriated Jews, and whither the prophet Ezekiel repaired: (ch. iii. 15). Little or nothing is known respecting it. On D'Anville's map of the Euphrates and Tigris, there is a place named Thallaba or Thalaban, situated on the Chaboras, in the upper part of its course. The name has a resemblance to the Hebrew word; and as the site likewise corresponds, it is not improbable that these names designate the same place.

4. *Karkemish*, ⁵⁰ [*Carchemish*] is mentioned in Isaiah x. 9, among other places in Syria and Mesopotamia, which had been subdued by an Assyrian monarch—probably by Tiglath-pileser. That Carchemish was a stronghold on the Euphrates, appears from the title of a prophecy of Jeremiah against Egypt, (ch. xlv. 2.): “Against the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which lay on the river Euphrates, at Carchemish, and which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon overthrew, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah.” According to 2 Chron. xxxv. 29, Necho had, five years before, advanced with his ally Josiah, the

^a See *Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*; and *Buckingham's Travels in Mesopotamia*.—M.

father of Jehoiakim, against the Babylonians, on the Euphrates, to take Carchemish. These two circumstances, viz. that Carchemish was on the Euphrates, and that it was a fortified town, render it probable that the Hebrew name points to a city which the Greeks and Romans called Kirkesion or Cercusium, and the Arabs Kerkesiyeh; ⁵¹ for it too, lay on the west bank of the Euphrates, where it is joined by the Chaboras. It was a large city, and surrounded with strong walls, which, in the time of the Romans, were occasionally renewed, as this was the remotest out-post of their empire, towards the Euphrates, in the direction of Persia. ⁵² It is unknown whether or not any traces of it still exist; for, as it lies off the usual route of caravans, modern travellers have taken no notice of it.

5. *Hena*, ⁵³ is mentioned in 1 Kings xix. 12, and Isa. xxxvii. 12, among the Syrian and Mesopotamian cities, that had been taken by the ancestors of Sennacherib. According to the probable conjecture of Büsching, ⁵⁴ it is the town which is still called by the Arabs *Anah*. ⁵⁵ It lies on both sides of the Euphrates, amid gardens, which are rich in dates, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, and other fruits. In the Euphrates, which runs through the town, there are several small islands, upon one of which stands a castle. ⁵⁶ Perhaps, in ancient times, the city lay, for the most part, or entirely, upon this island, for Abul-

fedā says, that “Anah is a small town on an island in the middle of the Euphrates.” The inhabitants are chiefly Arabs and Jews. It would appear that this place has been, from time to time, the seat of an Arabian Emir, the head of a powerful tribe. There lies, to the north of Anah, along the Euphrates, as far as the place called *Balis*, a country covered with mulberry trees; narrow pathways lead to cottages which are concealed in the thicket of the wood. It is here where a tribe of peaceable Arabs, the Beni-Semen, rear silk-worms, the produce of which they export. This country, which is little known to European travellers, is called Zombuk. The caravans which carry merchandise between Aleppo and Bagdad, commonly pass by Anah. They pay a tribute to the Arabs, who consider themselves as lords of the desert, even beyond the Euphrates.

6. *Sepharvaim*⁵⁷ was one of the places from which Salmanassar, king of Assyria, sent a colony into the kingdom of Israel, which he had depopulated, 2 Kings xvii. 24, comp. with ch. xviii. 34. Isa. xxxvi. 19. That Sepharvaim was a small state, under a king of its own, appears from 2 Kings xix. 13. Isa. xxxvii. 13. We include this district in Mesopotamia, because, in the passages quoted, it is mentioned along with other places of this province, and because Ptolemy⁵⁸ speaks of a town of a similar name.

“Sippbara,” as the southernmost city of Mesopotamia. Below it, he adds, the Euphrates divides itself into two branches, the eastern going to Seleucia and the western to Babylon. It is very probable, that Ptolemy’s Sippbara is the city of the Sippareni mentioned by Abydenus,⁵⁹ for which, as he relates, Nebuchadnezzar caused a lake to be dug, in order to lead into it the water of the Euphrates.

7. *Thelassar*,⁶⁰ spoken of in 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12, as the place where the children of Eden dwelt, is also to be sought for in Mesopotamia. Eden, as we shall afterwards see, was a district of Syria. Out of that region a great part of the population had been carried by the Assyrian conquerors to Thelassar, just as they transported a large part of the population of the kingdom of Israel or Samaria to the eastern districts of their empire. But no trace of Thelassar is found either in the ancient Greek and Roman, or in later Oriental writers. Hence nothing certain can be fixed respecting its locality.⁶¹ It is also uncertain, whether the kingdom or territory of *Elassar*, whose king Arioch is mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1, along with the king of Shinar, as a confederate of the king of Elam, was the same with or different from Thelassar.⁶² At the commencement of the book of Judith (ch. i. 6) it is said, according to Luther’s translation, that “Nebuchadnezzar defeated Ar-

phaxad, king of Media, in the great field called Ragau, which formerly belonged to Arioch, king of Elassar." In that case, Elassar would have been a part of Media, including the district of Rai or Rages. But the name Elassar is found neither in the Greek text nor in the old Latin translation. The former has "Erioch, king of the Elymæi,"⁶³ and the latter "Erioch, king of the Elici."⁶⁴ Luther took the name of the king for that Arioch who is spoken of in Gen. xiv. 1, and called king of Elassar. But even if his translation were correct, the romantic book of Judith is of little or no authority.^a

The earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia were either original Chaldæans, or a race related to them, from whom Terah, Abraham's father, separated himself with his family, in order to emigrate into the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 26). Strabo says,⁶⁵ that the population of Mesopotamia was composed of Armenians, Syrians, and Arabians. The two former possessed the northern and middle, and the last the southern part of this region. With respect to their modes of life, the inhabitants were always divided into two great classes, namely, those who, being domiciled in one spot, applied themselves to the culture of the ground, and nomadic shepherd tribes.

^a The Eng. version has "Arioch, king of the Elimeans."—M.

Of the more ancient history of Mesopotamia, nothing is known till the time when the Assyrian monarchs extended their conquests towards the west. About thirteen or fourteen centuries before the commencement of our era, mention is made of a king of Mesopotamia, called Cushan-Rishathaim (Judges iii. 8, 10), who, crossing the Euphrates, invaded and subdued the land of Canaan, and maintained his dominion over the Hebrews, for the space of eight years. It is uncertain, however, whether Cushan Rishathaim was actual ruler over the whole of Mesopotamia, or whether there were not there several smaller states, who only acknowledged him as their lord paramount. That Mesopotamia was divided into various distinct territories, under princes of their own, may be gathered from the mention of the kings of Hena and Sepharvaim (2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12,⁶⁶) whom the king of Assyria boasted of having subjugated. Ever after Mesopotamia became an Assyrian province, it formed part of the great monarchies which successively arose in Upper Asia, the Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian. The Syrian kings of Macedonian descent, founded several cities in Mesopotamia; and, perhaps, under them, the country was more tranquil and flourishing than either before or after. But when frequent commotions began to break out in this

part of Asia, and the Parthians made themselves masters of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, as far as the Euphrates, this province became exposed to a series of warlike devastations, which continued for ages. At one period, Tigranes, king of Armenia, took possession of the districts adjoining that country, while the Arabs subdued several districts in the south. The Romans also under Lucullus and Pompey began to disturb Mesopotamia, and, somewhat later, Crassus was there defeated and slain. Trajan wrested the whole province, with several adjacent territories, from the Parthians; and although Hadrian had to relinquish these conquests, Lucius Verus and Severus again subdued Mesopotamia, and it remained a Roman province until the end of the fourth century. On the death of Julian, Jovian found himself obliged to abandon the greater part of the country to the Persians, the Romans only retaining so much of Western Mesopotamia, as was inclosed by the rivers Chaboras and Euphrates, and on the north by the Mons Masius. When the Sassanian dynasty in Persia was overthrown by the Arabs, towards the middle of the seventh century, Mesopotamia came under the dominion of the caliphs. Since the year 1516, it has formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.

1. Babylon itself is not reckoned to belong to Mesopotamia by any ancient writer. Indeed, the notions that were entertained of the extent of this country were very fluctuating, and its limits cannot be defined with any precision. The name Mesopotamia was unknown to Xenophon and to all writers previous to the time of Alexander. The northern part was ranked with Syria, while the southern was reckoned to belong to Arabia, inasmuch as it was only separated from the rest of Arabia by the Euphrates, and was, moreover, inhabited by Arabs. See *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. 2, p. 257, 313.

2. **ܡܝܫܡܝܬ**, see *Assemani's* Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 462, and the Peschito Version of Acts ii. 9; vii. 2. That "Mesopotamia" was a translation of the native name of the country, is mentioned by *Arrian* in his Exped. Alex. VII. 7. See the following note.

3. Loc. cit. **Τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἱ τὴν μίσην σφῶν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπείργουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κλητίζεται, κ. τ. λ.**

4. **אֶרֶם נְהָרִים** Gen. xxiv. 10.

5. **פְּדַן אֶרֶם**. On the proper signification of the word **פְּדַן** see the author's Scholia (Vol. I. Part I. p. 414), at Gen. xxv. 20.* *Jos. von Hammer*, in his Constitution of the Ottoman Empire, Part I. p. 220, says, "the acre, which, in Turkish, is called *Tschift*, is, in Syria, as in Egypt, called *Feddan*. There are,

* The Scholium in question is chiefly an abstract of the opinion of *Michaelis* (in his Spicil. Geogr. Hebr. Ext. Part II. p. 119), comparing **פְּדַן**, with the cognate Arabic **فدان**. —M.

however, three kinds of Feddan, viz. the Roman, the Islamitish, and that of agriculture or the earth.——

The Feddani Hirass [فَدَّانٍ حَرَاث] is as much land as a pair of oxen usually plough from morning to noon; it is likewise called Feddani Ers, [فَدَّانٍ اَرْض] Comp. *Cellarii* Notit. Orb. antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 1.

6. שָׂדֵה אֲרָם, Hos. xii. 13; the Campi Mesopotamiæ of *Curtius*, Book III. Cap. 2, § 3; Cap. 8, § 1.

7. الجزيرة بين دجلة or more fully الجزيرة بين دجلة والفرات. “The Island between the Tigris and Euphrates.” See *Abulfeda's* Description of Mesopotamia, edited in Arabic, from the Dresden MS., by Rosenmüller, in *Paulus' New Repertory for Biblical and Oriental Literature*. Part III. p. 4.

8. See the foregoing note.

9. ^{سـ}إيالة. Praefectura, regimen, administratio, *Gol.* Lexic. Arab. p. 201.

10. See *Von Hammer's* Constit. of the Ottoman Empire. Part II. p. 263, et sqq. On the division of Mesopotamia in Ptolemy and other ancient writers, see *Cellarius* Notit. Orb. Ant. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 2, et sqq. and *Mannert's* Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. 2, p. 250. On its division by the Arabs, according to *Abulfeda* see *Wahl's* Asia, p. 620.

11. Voyages. Tom. IV. p. 372, et sqq.

12. ^{سوم} *سموم*. See more particulars as to this wind, in *Rosenmüller's* Alte und Neue Morgenland. Part II. No. 355, p. 235. The most recent and exact description will be found in the Voyage à Palmyre ou Tedmor dans le désert, avec une courte recherche sur le vent du désert, nommé Samieli, par le Comte W. S. R., in the Fundgruben des Orients. Vol. VI. p. 393.*

13. See *Rosenmüller's* Morgenland, Book IV. No. 1095, 1096, p. 370; and Book III. p. 289. Also *Olivier*, loc. cit. p. 388.

14. ^{כבר} *כבר*. It is called by *Ptolemy* ὁ Χαβύρας by *Strabo* and other Greeks, Ἀββύρας, also Ἀβύρας and the same in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XIV. 4; XXIII. 5. See *Cellarius*, Notit. Orb. Antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 11. *Mannert* loc. cit. p. 268.

15. That there are two rivers of the name of Chaboras, is expressly said by *Yakuti* in his Geographical Dictionary, from which *A. Schultens*, in the Index Geographic. ad Vit. Saladini makes the following quotation: "El-Khabur (الخابور), the name of a large river, which rises near Ras-el-Ain, and flows into the Euphrates, in the country of Al-Jezirah. Its

§

* *Samūm* is the Arabic name from ^{سم} *samm*, "poison." The

Turkish name is ^{سمی} *سمی* *Samieli*, from the Arabic *samm*, and the Turkish *gel*, "wind," with the affixed possessive pronoun of the third person. In Arabic it is also called ^{حرور} *Hharūr*, i. e. the hot.—M.

course is of considerable length, and it runs past the cities of Araban, Markesie, and Kerkisia. There is also another river, El-Khabur, called the Hhasenitic Khabur (الخابور الحسنية), in the district of Mosul, to the east of the Tigris."

16. *Hist. Nat.* L. XXXI. cap. 3, § 22. Unus in toto orbe traditur fons aquae jucundae olentis in Mesopotamia, Chabura.

17. L. XIV. cap. 3. Hanc regionem — — invadere parans dux, per solitudines Aboraeque amnis herbidas ripas, etc.

18. Concerning this country, see above, in chap. VIII. note 4.

19. Pers. L. II. cap. 5. Ἀβέρρας ποταμὸς μέγας.

20. *Ammianus* L. XXIII. cap. 5. Julianus vero, dum moratur apud Cercusium, ut per navalem Aborae pontem exercitus et omnes sequelae transirent, etc.

21. *wd.*

22. See *Walt's Asia*, p. 817. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 267.

23. See *Cellarius* loc. cit. Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 2.

24. See *Cellarius*, loc. cit. § 35. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 295.

25. نصيبين. See *Schulten's Index Geograph.* ad Vit. Saladin, under the article "Nisibis." The word denotes in Chaldee (נציבין), and Syriac (نصيبين), Military Posts.*

* The following is Lieut. *Heude's* notice of Nisibin, in his *Journey Overland from India to England*, in 1817 (p. 223): "Nisibin presents the miserable remains of a town, formerly of

26. See *Rauwolf's* Travels, p. 259. *Ives' Journey*, Part II. *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part II. p. 379. *Olivier's Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 247, et seqq.

27. ܠܕܝܢ. See *Assemani's* Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. DCCLXVII.

28. *J. D. Michaelis* Commentat. de Syria Sobaea, in the Commentatt. Societati Regiae Scientiar. Goettingensi per annos 1763—1768, oblatis (Brem. 1769), p. 57, et seqq.

29. See *Hyde's* Annotat. to Peritsol's Travels,* cap. 8, note 5, [or] in his Syntagma Dissertatt. ed. Sharpe. Vol. I. p. 71 [Oxon.], 1767, and *Goliush* on Al-Fargani, p. 275.

30. See above, chap. VIII. notes 64 and 68. Comp. *Reiske's* note to his Latin translation of Abulfeda's Mesopotamia, in Busching's Magazine, Part IV. p. 239.

31. See *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 278.

32. See *Tavernier's* Travels. Book II. chap. 4.

some extent, and which occupied a considerable space along the banks of the Mygdonius; a small but rapid stream, that defended the position to the north, whilst the south was equally protected by a swamp. The greater part of the houses are in ruins, and the post-house is execrably dirty; the remains of an aqueduct, however, with other traces, sufficiently point out the great importance it once enjoyed. In the town is a building that has the appearance of a castle or citadel, with loopholes in its walls; and a stone mosque also with a single minaret. The ruins of a Christian church, once dedicated to St. James, still exists; and at about a musket-shot from the church five large granite columns, each of a single stone, sixteen or eighteen feet in height, are also left.

* Abraham Peritsol, a learned Jew, whose *Itinera Mundi* was edited by Hyde, Oxon. 1691.—M.

Niebuhr's Travels, Part II. p. 406. *Olivier Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 418.

33. The most circumstantial and accurate account of these kings has been given by *Theophil. Siegf. Bayer*, in his *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex nummis illustrata*, Petersburg 1734. On the name Abgar, see at p. 165 of that work, a passage from Moses of Chorene.

34. Abgar Achomo, *i. e. the Black*, was the fourteenth of the Edessene kings, and a cotemporary of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius. See *Bayer*, loc. cit. p. 96, et sqq.

35. Book I. cap. 13, or, according to another division, cap. 15.

36. See *Schröckh's Church History*. Part II. p. 32, et sqq.

37. אור-כשדים.

38. L. XXV. Cap. 8. Et via sex dierum emensa, (*i. e.* from Nisibis), cum ne gramina quidem inveniuntur, solatia necessitatis extremæ; dux Mesopotamiae Cassianus, et tribunus Mauricius pridem ob hoc missus; ad Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum, cibos ferentes ex his, quos relictus cum Procopio et Sebastiano exercitus parcius victitans conservarat.

39. See above chap. VIII. note 124.

40. Others identify Ur Casdim with Orchon, a place mentioned by Ptolemy, in the south of Mesopotamia, and which was the seat of a learned sect of Chaldees. See *Cellarius Notit. Orb. Ant.* Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 27, and cap. 16, § 21. *Hyde* (*Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.* cap. 2, p. 73, of the second Edit.) finds the Ur of Scripture in Urhoi, *i. e.* Edessa, where,

according to tradition, Abraham lived for a considerable period. See above, note 30.

41. דָּרוֹן. The word probably signifies "a parched or burnt country," from דָּרַר, to be hot, to singe.

42. In *Paulus'* New Repert. Part III. p. 15. See also *Reiske's* Latin transl. in Büsching's Magazin, Part IV. p. 239, and *J. D. Michaelis* Supplemm. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 930, et sqq.

43. حَرَّانَ, Syriac حَرَّان, in the Geograph. Register prefixed to Vol. II. of *Assemani's* Biblioth. Orient. and in the Geograph. Register, Tom. III. P. II. under *Haran*.

44. It is upon insufficient grounds that *J. D. Michaelis* in his Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 933, supposes the Haran, mentioned by Ezekiel, was a place in Southern or Happy Arabia, called by the Arabs

حَرَّانُ الْقَرِينِ Kharan el-Köreïn. See *Assemani* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. 562, 563, 564.

45. See *Mannert* loc. cit. p. 282.

46. See *Cellarius* loc. cit. Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 3, § 27, note 4.

47. *Dio Cassius* XI. 25. *Strabo* XVI. 1, 23.

48. Travels, Part II. p. 410.

49. תֵּל אֲבִיב, i. e. "the hill of corn-ears." The word *Tel*, *Tela*, a hill, is found in many names of places in Assyria, Mesopotamia and Syria, as Tel-Birtha, Tel-Baser, Tel-Afer, Tel-Eda, etc. See *Assemani* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. DCCLXXXIV. *Burckhardt* remarks, (Travels in Syria, p. 149), in speaking of a place called Tel-Afyun (تَلْ أَفْيُون)

i. e. "the Opium-hill:" "The number of these insulated mounds of earth, in the eastern plains of Syria, is very remarkable; their shape is sometimes so regular, that there can be no doubt of their being artificial. In several places there are two standing close together. It is a general remark, that where there is a mound, a village is found near it, and a spring, or, at least, an ancient well."

50. כרכמיש. The name is composed of כרך, Syriac *ܟܪܟ* a castle, and the proper name מיש.

51. قرقسية. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 23, and in Büsching's Magaz. Part IV. p. 242. Comp. *Michaëlis*' Suppl. p. 1352.

52. *Ammianus* XXIII. 11. Tendens Imperator Cercusium, principio mensis Aprilis ingressus est munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cujus moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. Comp. *Cellarius* loc. cit. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 10, and *Munnert*, p. 289.

53. דחנע.

54. Geography of Asia (Part XI. Div. I.) p. 557, and 263 of the third Edition.

55. عانة. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 33, and in *Büsching's* Magaz. Part IV. p. 245.

56. See *Rauwolf's* Travels, Book II. cap. 5, p. 193, *Olivier* Voyages, Tom. VI. p. 321, et sqq.

57. ספרוים.

58. Book V. cap. 18. Comp. *Cellarius* § 17, and *Herm. von der Hardt's* Sipphara Babylonæ. Helmstadt, 1708, 8vo.

59. In *Eusebius* Praepar. Evang. IX. 44.

60. תל־אשר and תל־שר.

61. *Paulus* remarks, (Key to Isaiah, p. 251): “תל and תל־א, (with the Chald. א articuli), a hill, is an addition to the names of several Aramæan towns (See note 49, above). The principal word here, therefore, is שר. Perhaps the remains of this place are to be seen in *Schara*, a small town on an eminence, two or three miles from the Euphrates, a couple of leagues from Rahabah, in the district of Jezirah, in Arabia Deserta. *Busching*, p. 556, No. 6. A great many ruins are still seen here. In this country also, is the Anah of Scripture.” [See above, note 55.]

62. The Jerusalem Targum has, at Gen xiv. 1, 9, תל־אשר for the Hebrew מל־א; and both it and Jonathan have, at Gen. x. 12, the same word for the Hebrew מל־א.

63. Εἰριὼχ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἑλυμαίων.

64. Rex Elicorum.

65. XVI. l. 24, et sqq.

66. Zobah, with whose king David waged war, would likewise have been introduced here, provided it could be certainly identified with Nisibis; but we already found that we must look for Zobah elsewhere than in Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER XI.

SYRIA.

UNDER the name of *Syria*,¹ the ancient Greek and Roman writers comprehend all the countries which extend northwards from the Isthmus of Suez and the Arabian Peninsula, as far as the high table land of the Euphrates, where that river breaks through the mountain-chain of Taurus, and which are bounded on the east by the Euphrates and the Desert of Arabia, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea.² The Arabs call this great province *Barr-esh-Sham*, or simply *esh-Sham*,³ *i. e.* the country to the left, or towards the north, in contradistinction to Southern Arabia, *Yemen*, *i. e.* the country to the right; because when, in order to determine the cardinal points, the look is supposed to be directed towards the east, Arabia lies on the right-hand, and Syria on the left.⁴ According to the above mentioned boundaries, Phœnicia and Palestine would form part of Syria, but, in a stricter sense, neither of these countries is to be included in Syria Proper; for that only comprehends the region which is shut in on the north and south by the mountain ranges of Amanus and Le-

banon, and on the east and west by the river Euphrates and the Mediterannean. The ancient Hebrews distinguished this country by the general name of *Aram*, a part of which, however, they accounted Mesopotamia,* on the other side of the Euphrates, which they called *Aram-Naharaïm* and *Padan-Aram*. As to western Aram, or Aram on this side the river, mention is made in the Old Testament of *Aram-Zobah*, *Aram-Dammesek*, *Aram-Maachach*, and *Aram-Beth-Rechob*, as so many particular districts and towns belonging to it.

Syria is composed of three tracts of land of very different descriptions. That which adjoins the Mediterannean, is a hot, damp, and rather unwholesome valley, but very fruitful. The part next to this consists of a double chain of mountains, running parallel from south-west to north-east, with craggy precipitous rocks, long devious valleys, and hollow defiles. The air is here dry and healthy; and on the western declivities of the mountains are seen beautiful and highly cultivated terraces, alternating with well-watered valleys, which have a rich and fertile soil, and are densely peopled. The eastern declivities, on the contrary, are dreary mountain deserts, connected with the third region, which may be described as an extensive plain of sand

* See the last chapter.

and rock, presenting an immense and almost unbroken level.⁵

Spring and autumn are very agreeable in Syria, and the heat of summer in the mountain districts is supportable. But in the plains, as soon as the sun reaches the equator, it becomes of a sudden oppressively hot, and this heat continues till the end of October. On the other hand, the winter is so mild, that orange-trees, fig-trees,^a palms, and many tender shrubs and plants flourish in the open air, while the heights of Lebanon are glittering with snow and hoar-frost. In the districts, however, which lie north and east of the mountains, the severity of winter is greater; though the heat of summer is not less. At Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, there is ice and snow for several weeks every winter. Yet, upon the whole, the climate and soil combine to render this country one of the most agreeable residences throughout the east.

Syria is, from time to time, visited with earthquakes, which occasion great devastation. During one, which happened in the year 1759, in the valley of Baalbek, more than twenty thousand persons perished. For the space of three months the shocks kept the inhabitants of Lebanon in such alarm, that they forsook their houses and dwelt

^a Specially, the *pisang* or *Musa Paradisaica*, in Arabic موز Maus or Mûs.—M.

in tents.⁶ In the year 1822 the inhabitants of Aleppo were compelled to do the same, a terrible earthquake having destroyed a great part of the city, and buried many thousands of the inhabitants in the ruins. Another calamity, with which Syria is visited (commonly after too mild a winter), is the innumerable swarms of locusts, which come hither out of the Arabian desert, consume, in a few hours, every green thing in the fields, and every leaf on the trees, change the face of the country into a naked waste, and bring in their train famine and pestilence.⁷

Among the mountains of Syria, the greatest and most celebrated is *Lebanon*,⁸ a long and high range of lime-stone hills, which, beginning at the Mediterannean, run in two parallel chains from south-west to north-east.⁹ The more southerly of these chains is called *Anti-libanus* or that which stands opposite Lebanon Proper. An eastern arm of that line is called *Hermon*¹⁰ (Deut. iii. 9) and also *Sion*¹¹ (Deut. iv. 48). In the first cited passage, it is said, that the Sidonians called it Sirion,¹² and the Amorites Senir.¹³ Both names denote a coat of mail.¹⁴ In later books of the Old Testament, however, (1 Chron. v. 28. Solomon's Song iv. 8), Senir is distinguished from Hermon, strictly so called. According to Seetzen^{14a} and Burckhardt,^{14b} Hermon is now called *Jebel-esh-Sheich*, i. e. "the Chief's Mountain," and a branch of the same

running southwards, *Hish-el-Kenneytra*. In the middle ages, the part of Anti-libanus, north of Damascus, was called *Senir*.¹⁵ The top of Amana (Solomon's Song iv. 8) doubtless belonged also to this mountain range. * * * The valley, two leagues wide, which is inclosed between Lebanon and Anti-libanus, is called *el-Bekua*,¹⁶ a word common to the Hebrew and Arabic languages, and signifying "a level valley." Strabo calls this valley *Coele-Syria*, *i. e.* "Hollow Syria," at the north-east end of which lay Baalbek or Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, of which we shall have occasion to speak under the head of "Baal-Gad."

Lebanon received its name from its white colour,¹⁷ which is produced not only by the perpetual snow on its summit (whence the Arabs call it the "Snow Mountain")¹⁸ but also by the whitish complexion of the calcareous soil.¹⁹ If one approaches Syria from the sea, he perceives, almost upon leaving Larnaka in Cyprus, at a distance of thirty leagues from the coast, the misty heights of Lebanon.²⁰ As he approaches the shore, the steep precipices of the mountain rampart, and those gigantic masses of rocks, which lose themselves in the clouds, fill him with astonishment and awe. Directly behind Tripoli is seen what is called "the Bulwark of Lebanon," upon the top of which there are beautiful and fruitful plains.²¹ If it is approached

from Beirut,²² “the traveller at first passes through gardens, where the vine tendrils twine themselves round the great trees which overshadow the road. The mulberry plantations and vineyards are enclosed with hedges of nopal,^a reeds, and shrubs. Small coffee-houses and fruit-shops, of stone or wicker work, are found at almost all the cross roads, and in the neighbourhood of the villages. The abundance of fountains, wells, and brooks is indescribable, and their water is most excellent (compare Solomon’s Song iv. 15). Mulberries and the vine are the chief articles of cultivation. As one gradually ascends the mountain, the prospect enlarges. He sees that the inferior ridges, proceeding from the principal range, run out parallel to each other from east to west as far as the sea. They are cultivated from the base to the summit, and every where present, elevated above the clouds, villages, farms, monasteries and vineyards, in which last, as is common throughout Asia, the tendrils not being bound up, are allowed to spread themselves along the ground. The valleys are deep and narrow. Beyond these fertile hills rise the steep eminences of the principal range of Lebanon. Flocks of black goats, with long brown ears, and white sheep, with large fat tails, feed upon these Alpine heights. The top of

^a Nōpāl is the Indian fig-tree or *Cactus Opuntia*.—M.

Lebanon forms the last elevation,—a bare, rugged and precipitous ridge of greyish rock, whose cavities are filled up with snow.” “Lebanon,” says another recent traveller,²³ “has a different aspect from the mountains of Switzerland. No spires and blocks of snow are seen on its heights, rising as glaciers above the chief level. This steep barrier of rock appears of a whitish yellow colour like chalk. As there is not a single trace of vegetation on the summit, the pale colour of the mountain top, and the clear azure of heaven, combine to produce a soft but dazzling lustre.”

The highest peaks of Lebanon are, as we have already remarked, covered with perpetual snow.²⁴ If, in the summer months, the forest of cedars be free from it,²⁵ yet in the upper regions, the snow remains on the ground even in June, July, and August; and in winter, it sometimes falls in such quantities, far below the level of the cedar forest, that unless it were dispersed by the wind, the cedars would be buried under it. The snow-clad heights of Lebanon not only provide the neighbouring towns with ice to cool their beverages in summer; but likewise are the chief feeders of the many springs which flow round its base, and finally join the common source of the principal river of Judæa, the Jordan.²⁶ Hence may be seen the beauty of the emblem employed by the prophet Jeremiah (ch. xviii. 14, 15):

Shall snow from the rocks of Lebanon cease to water my fields ?
 Or shall the far-flowing, cool, constant waters be dried up ?
 But my people forget me, burning incense to nonentities,—
 They stumble in their way, even on the ancient paths,
 Yea, they walk in paths that are not trodden.*

Nature, says Jehovah by the mouth of the prophet, remains faithful and constant in the regular course prescribed to it by the Creator, but my people have forsaken my appointed way, in which their fathers walked.

As the heights of Lebanon, stiffened with perpetual ice and snow, are rugged and dreary, so, for the most part, the middle and lower regions of the mountain are magnificent and lovely. Travellers speak with ecstasy of the enchanting prospects which are everywhere presented to the view. Beneath the rocky eminence of the cedar

* This is a *locus veratissimus*. Rosenmüller adopts the translation of *C. B. Michaelis*, as approved by *Schnurrer*. Blayney (not very happily as appears to me) renders it :

Will the snow leave Lebanon before any rock of the field ?
 Will men dig for strange waters perversely in preference to
 such as flow ?
 But my people have forgotten me, they have burned incense to
 vanity :
 And paths of ancient use have caused them to stumble in their
 ways,
 Whilst they walk in paths of a road not thrown up.

See *Christ. Frid. Schnurreri* Observatt. ad Vaticinia Jerem. Tubing, 1793-4 : reprinted in the *Commentt. Theologic. of Velthuysen, Kuinoel, and Ruperti*. Vols. II.-V.—M.

forest lies, in a hollow, the Maronite convent of Canubin. The valley is copiously watered, being full of fountains and cascades; it abounds in pines, cypresses, oaks, and plantains. De Bruyn found this valley so agreeable, even in the middle of winter, that he declares he never saw a fairer spot on the earth.²⁷ The tract around the village of Bshirraï (which is likewise below the cedar forest), Mayr describes as splendid and unique in its scenery.²⁸ “The romantic mountain landscapes of the small Swiss Cantons may be compared with it, though in many respects it far surpasses them. It appears as if the most fertile fields were spread over the barren rocks. Silver poplars, sometimes single, sometimes in clumps, wave their tall and slender forms; and the stream of a waterfall rushes in a magnificent sheet down the mountain, and irrigates the whole of the surrounding country.” In order that he might enjoy this delightful scene, King Solomon built to himself pleasure-houses upon Mount Lebanon (1 Kings ix. 19).²⁹

Among the natural productions of Lebanon, the first place is due to its wine. All who have tasted it agree in extolling its excellence. “The vineyards here,” as Father Dandini relates,³⁰ “are not turned up with the spade, but ploughed with oxen, and are planted in parallel rows, which are placed at regular distances from each other. The tendrils are not supported by props,

but are allowed to spread along the ground. The wine made from them is excellent ; the clusters are astonishingly large, and the grapes are often like plums." A later traveller³¹ says, " An article nowhere met with in Europe, and found only here, is the *Vino d'oro* of Lebanon. When I first saw it, I thought, from its colour and general appearance, that it was a *liqueur* ; and after tasting it, I was not sure if Malaga or Alicant wine, could bear comparison with it. It leaves in the mouth a sweetness and agreeable warmth, without being intoxicating."³² The prophet Hosea says (ch. xiv. 7), that the people of Israel should one day be esteemed as the noble wine of Lebanon.

Nothing has more conduced to the fame of Lebanon, from very ancient times, than its cedars. These trees are not, it is true, peculiar to this mountain, for they also grow on Amanus and Taurus, in Asia Minor ;³³ but they do not there attain the same height and vigour as on Lebanon. The cedar (in Hebrew and Arabic *aeres*, *aers*), belongs to the family of pointed leaved trees. Its leaves are an inch and a half long, stiff, and evergreen, and more than twenty of them grow on each shoot. The bright-green cones stand upright ; they are of an oval shape, five inches long and four broad, and are firmly attached to the rind, which is of a bright grey or brown colour.³⁴ The young trees resemble

larches. The beauty of the cedar consists in the strength and elegant symmetry of its wide spreading boughs. The wood is reddish-brown with streaks. The resin, which exudes from the branches, as well as from the cones, is, according to Schulz,³⁵ "as soft as balsam, and its smell very much resembles that of the balm of Mecca. Indeed, every thing about the tree has a strong balsamic odour, and the whole forest is in consequence so perfumed with fragrance, that a walk through it is delightful." This is probably the *sweet smell of Lebanon*, spoken of by the prophet Hosea (ch. xiv. 6), and in Solomon's Song (ch. iv. 11.)

In almost no kind of wood are so many advantages for building combined, as in the cedar. The timber is hard, and free from knots, is corroded by no worm, and lasts so long, that some are of opinion it is not subject to decay. Hence, in the building of houses, it is used for beams to the roof, and for the ceiling and floors. The castle of Persepolis,³⁶ and the temple at Jerusalem, as well as the palace of Solomon there, were built of cedar; and in the last mentioned edifice, so great a quantity of this wood was made use of, that it is called (1 Kings vii. 2; x. 17), the *house of the forest of Lebanon*.³⁷ In Tyre, the masts of ships and the wainscot of palaces were of cedar (Ezekiel xxvii. 5, 6).

Of the extensive cedar-forests which once

adorned Lebanon, only a very few traces now remain. The grove of cedars best known, and most commonly visited by travellers, is found at the foot of the steep declivities of the higher division of Lebanon proper, opposite the village of Hadet. It is half a league distant from the straight line of road to Bshirrai, and a league and a quarter from that place, in the neighbourhood of which lies the Carmelite monastery, Mar Serkis (*i. e.* Saint Sergius). *Mayr*,³⁸ in the summer of the year 1813, computed the number of trees, of which this wood was composed, at eight or nine hundred, including every size. Among these he reckoned nine principal cedars, which were distinguished from the rest by their thickness and age, but not by their height, in which they were surpassed by younger trees. The circumference of the trunk of the largest cedar, at four feet from the ground, was about twenty feet. A fallen bough measured thirty paces in length. The trunks of five of the largest branched off into three or four divisions, each stem in which was equal to the trunk of our largest oaks. *Burckhardt*,³⁹ in the autumn of 1810, “counted eleven or twelve cedars of the oldest and best looking trees; twenty-five very large ones; about fifty of middling size; and more than three hundred smaller and young trees. The oldest trees are distinguished by having the foliage and small branches at the top only, and by four, five, or even seven trunks springing

from one base. The branches and foliage of the others were lower. The trunks of the oldest trees seem to be quite dead; the wood is of a grey tint." Besides this cedar forest, Seetzen⁴⁰ discovered two others, which surpassed this in extent, but they are mentioned by no other traveller.

The less populous parts of Lebanon, and the mountain defiles, harbour many wild beasts, particularly bears, wolves, jackalls, wild boars, and panthers. The skins of the last are very much esteemed, and are used as saddle-cloths.⁴¹ The lions' dens on Lebanon, and the mountains of panthers,^a are mentioned in Solomon's Song, iv. 8.

It is probable, that the Mount Hor, which is spoken of in Numbers xxxii. 7, 8, in the description of the northern border of the land of the Hebrews,⁴² was a north-eastern branch of Lebanon. It is said in that passage, "this shall be your north border; from the Great Sea ye shall draw your boundary-line to Mount Hor. From

^a Luther and our Eng. Translators have rendered this by "*leopards*," animals which are found indeed in the south of Persia and India, but not in Syria, where, however, the *panther* (in Heb. נָמֵר *namer*, in Arab. نمرة *nimūrah*), is to be met with. The leopard is a much smaller animal, yet it is larger than the ounce or little panther, which the Arabs call فهد *Fahad*.—M.

Mount Hor,^a ye shall draw your border-line (farther), unto Hamath (*i. e.* Epiphania on the Orontes); and carry it as far as Zedad." Yet, in point of fact, the Hebrews did not extend their conquests across the south-east chain of Lebanon, or the Antilibanus.

Among the rivers of Syria, the most important is that which the Greeks and Romans called the *Orontes*, and which the Arabs still term the *Oront*,⁴³ although they more frequently call it *El-Aasi*,⁴⁴ *i. e.* "the Rebel," because it can only be made to irrigate the land by means of water-wheels. That, at least, is adduced by Abulfeda as the origin of the Arabic name;⁴⁵ yet it is possible that it may have been changed from an ancient name given it by the Greeks, *Axios* (*i. e.* the esteemed, the excellent,⁴⁶) into the similarly pronounced Arabic of the above signification. The Arabs likewise call this stream, *the river of Hamath*,⁴⁷ on account of its flowing through that ancient and celebrated city, and *el-Maklūb*,⁴⁸ *i. e.* the inverted, because, contrary to the general direction of the Syrian rivers, it has its course from south to north. It rises about nine miles

^a The words of the original are הָר הַזֶּה which the LXX render by ὄρος ἡ δὲ ὄρος and the Vulg. by "mons altissimus." Reland (in his *Palæstina Illust.* p. 119), thinks that הָר is not a proper name, but the infinitive of an obsolete verb הָרַר whence הָר *a mountain* is derived; and he would translate הָר הַזֶּה by *q̄ assurgere montis*, or some such phrase.—M.

to the south-east of Upper Lebanon, at the distance of half a league from the village of Jiranidje.⁴⁹ Running for about seventy miles in a straight line, from south to north, it passes Hems and Hamath; it then bends from east to west, and, flowing in a course directly west, to the plain of Antioch, empties itself, nine miles below that city, into the Sea of Syria.

The second place among the rivers of Syria, is due to the *Eleutherus*⁵⁰ mentioned in 1 Maccabees xi. 7; xii. 30. This river divided Phœnicia from Syria, and is probably identical with that now called *Nahr-el-kebir*, i. e. the great river.⁵¹ It springs in Upper Lebanon, and joins the Syrian sea below Tartus. Burckhardt⁵² calls it a large river, and observes, that it is so dangerous in spring, on account of its impetuous rapidity, that the caravans from Hamath are often detained on its banks for weeks, without being able to cross it.

The *Chrysorrhœus*, now the *Barada*,⁵³ i. e. "the cold," takes a course quite different from that of the rivers already mentioned. It rises in Antilibanus, flows south-east through a narrow valley towards Damascus, and near the village of Dumar, successively divides itself into five branches. The principal stream runs through Damascus, copiously supplying the city with water, by means of canals. Two other arms flow round the beautiful plain of El-Gutha, and irrigate its

gardens with countless water-courses. Below Damascus, almost all the divisions of the Barada reunite in a common channel, and about the distance of two days' journey farther to the south-east, the river is lost in a lake, several leagues long, very abundant in fish, but surrounded with morasses.^a One of the above mentioned arms of the Barada is now called *Baneas*. It has been conjectured, that this is the same river as that spoken of in 2 Kings v. 12, under the name of *Abana*.⁵⁴ The prophet Elisha had commanded Naaman, the Syrian general, to bathe in the Jordan, that he might be cleansed from his leprosy; but Naaman replied: "Are not Abana and Pharpar rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" The *Pharpar*⁵⁵ is very probably the same river as that now called the *Fidsheh*.⁵⁶ Otto von Richter⁵⁷ (who visited the country in 1815), says, "that it springs from a cave at the bottom of the range of hills, by which the vale of Damascus is enclosed, in the neighbourhood of the village of Fidsheh, a few leagues north-west of the city. Here the Fidsheh rushes out in a rapid current from an old vault, which rests on a wall of large square stones, and forms the entrance to the cave. Right above the spring, is seen a high tower with the foundations of a quadrangle."

^a It is called by Volney, *Behairat-el-Mardj*, i. e. the Lake of the Meadow.—M.

gular apartment ; opposite the tower is a broad niche, and on the north side are the remains of a semicircular apartment. Beside the fountain there is built a large semicircular niche in the rocks, and by its side, a square edifice of large stones, ten or twelve paces long, and as many broad. Through an opening on the side turned towards the water, a part of the stream flows in, and runs out again through a similar opening in the front wall. The back of the square edifice, leans upon the rocks, and in place of a façade, there are only a few projecting pillars, beside which more niches are found. The side walls incline towards each other in a singular manner, in much the same way as a vault, except at the cornice. The external appearance of the stones evinces a high antiquity, but the whole is so rude and simple, that I cannot even form a conjecture as to the time of its erection. Immediately below the ancient edifice, the brook forms a fall of several feet, and then flows in innumerable little channels. Its water is as pure and transparent as can anywhere be found, and must be very salubrious. The stream glides away under poplar trees, and soon unites with the Barada, which comes from another beautiful valley. The latter river is half the breadth of the Fidsheh ; its source indeed, lies far higher, but it runs in a much deeper channel. Its turbid water appears of a whitish-green colour. It is reckoned very un-

wholesome, and is continually producing fever among the inhabitants of the villages on its banks, until where it becomes improved by its confluence with the waters of the Fidsheh. Both streams have an impetuous current, which they long preserve distinct in the same channel, without comingling, as is seen from the difference of colour. The inhabitants maintain, that the respective temperature of the waters likewise remains, after their conflux, for that the water of the Fidsheh is colder in summer, and warmer in winter, than that of the Barada." These boasted qualities of the Fidsheh, on account of which its source was early distinguished by architectural decorations, strongly confirm the supposition, that it is one of the two rivers of Damascus, whose waters Naaman conceived to be more salutary than all the waters of Israel.

Syria Proper, the extent and boundaries of which have now been described, was divided in the time of David, into several small kingdoms or principalities, of which the following are mentioned in the historical books of Scripture.

I. *Aram-Zobah*.⁵⁸ That this part of Aram or Syria, bordered on the Euphrates, is evident from the circumstance that, according to 2 Sam. viii. 3, David, having set out to recover, or as it is said, in 1 Chron. xviii. 3, to establish his do-

minion on the Euphrates, defeated Hadadezer, the king of Zobah. Hadadezer afterwards brought auxiliary troops from Aram beyond the Euphrates, that is from Mesopotamia, (2 Sam. x. 16). Thus the Euphrates was the eastern boundary of Zobah; but on the west side, the Damasco-Syrian and Hebrew territories were contiguous to it. For the Jews, the Damascenes, and the Zobahites, made war upon each other. If the town Berothai (mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 8), which David took from the king of Zobah, be the modern Beirut, then Aram-Zobah must have extended westward to the Mediterranean. Even Saul carried on war against Zobah (1 Sam. xiv. 47). It has already been stated, that David defeated the king of Zobah; and when the Damascenes sent auxiliaries to Hadadezer, these also were routed, (2 Sam. viii. 5). According to 2 Sam. x. 6, the Ammonites hired twenty thousand foot soldiers from the Zobahites, in order to make war on David. Reson fled from Zobah to Damascus, possessed himself of that city, and became a constant enemy to Solomon (1 Kings xi. 24, 25.) Hamath (that is Epiphania on the Orontes) is called, in 2 Chron. viii. 3, Hamath-Zobah, because it either lay within the district of Zobah, or was contiguous to it. All these circumstances, viewed collectively, lead to the conclusion, that

Zobah ought to be placed between Damascus and Aleppo, as far as the Euphrates ; and they show, at the same time, the great improbability of the opinion advanced by J. D. Michaelis,⁵⁹ and generally acquiesced in, that Zobah was Nisibis, a town lying to the north-east, far beyond the Euphrates.⁶⁰ That the Syrian ecclesiastical writers take Nisibis for Zobah, has no more weight than the opinion of the Jews at Aleppo, that that city is the ancient Aram-Zobah ;⁶¹ yet the above given data, when taken together, make it probable, that the district of Zobah did extend north-west as far as Aleppo.⁶²

II. *Aram-Dammeseh*,⁶³ “ the Syria of Damascus,” which David conquered (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6). Of the chief town, Damascus, see below. The “ land of Hadrach,”⁶⁴ spoken of by the prophet Zechariah (ch. ix. 1), appears to have been a part of Damascene-Syria, or a province adjoining it, as they are mentioned together.

III. *Aram-Maachah*,⁶⁵ (1 Chron. xix. 6), or simply *Maachah*, (2 Sam. x. 6, 8), is, in the passages quoted, mentioned along with Aram-Zobah and several other districts of Aram. It seems to have extended from Damascus southward, as far as the north border of the country of the Jews, on the east side of the Jordan. For it is related in Deut. iii. 13, that Jair, the son of Manasseh, took possession of the country of Argob in Bashan, unto the borders of Geshur and Maachah ;

and, according to Joshua xiii. 11, the tribe of Reuben received, among other territories, Gilead unto the borders of Geshur and Maachah. Yet, it is added at verse 13, that the Israelites had not then expelled the inhabitants of Geshur and Maachah, but dwelt along with them there.⁶⁶

IV. *Aram Beth Rechob*⁶⁷ is noticed in 2 Sam. x. 6, among other neighbouring Syrian tribes, from whom the Ammonites had hired mercenaries to make war upon David. That this region adjoined the north frontier of the Israelites, appears from the fact, that according to Judges xviii. 28, the town of Laish, conquered by the Danites, and afterwards from them called Dan, lay in the neighbourhood of Beth-rechob. In that passage it is said, that none had come to the help of the town of Laish, because "it was far from Sidon in the valley that lieth by Beth-rechob." According to Numbers xiii. 21, Rechob lay on the road to Hamath or Epiphania; and in Judges i. 31, Rechob is mentioned among several places of Northern Palestine, near to Zidon, from which the inhabitants were not expelled by the Asherites. These considerations, taken together, (among which it is particularly to be observed, that Rechob "lay in a valley"), lead us to conclude, with some probability, that Aram Beth-Rechob was the same district as that now called *Ard* (the land) *el-Hhule*,⁶⁸ at the foot of Antilibanus, and near the sources of the

Jordan. "A few leagues below Banias (Paneas)," says Seetzen,⁶⁹ "the mountains form a long, but little cultivated valley, which is called el Hhule, and in the middle of which lies the marshy lake, which receives from it the appellation of Bahhrat Hhule."⁷⁰ This is the lake Merom or the Lacus Samochonitis of the ancients." Burckhardt, in the Journal of his Tour from Damascus in the countries of the Libanus and Antilibanus, says:⁷¹ "The mountains of Hasbeya, or the chain of Dshebel-esh-Sheikh, divide, at five hours north from the lake Houle, into two branches. The western, a little further to the south, takes the name of Dshebel Safat, the eastern joins the Dshebel Heish, and its continuations towards Banias. Between these two lie the lake of Houle, and the Ard-el-Houle, the latter from three to four hours in breadth. We descended from Rasheyat-el-Fukhar into the plain, in which we continued till we reached Banias at the end of four hours." Hul or Chul, is mentioned among the sons of Aram in the genealogico-ethnographic table in Genesis x. 23; and as Aram is the Hebrew name of Syria, Chul is, without doubt, the name of some part or district of that country. And as the Chaldee name Chel, which corresponds to the Hebrew Chul, signifies a valley, it is not, perhaps, too bold a conjecture, that Chul was the most ancient name of the above described

valley, now denominated el-Hhule, which does not materially differ from the Hebrew name.⁷²

Besides those parts of Syria which have been already described, and which show themselves to belong to the country, by bearing the prefixed name of *Aram*, the following, without being similarly distinguished, are also mentioned in scripture :

V. *Hamath*,⁷³ on the Orontes, with a city of the same name, which it still bears. In Gen. x. 18, a Canaanitish tribe of this name is mentioned; and Hamath is afterwards repeatedly noticed as the northern border of the Israelites, (Numb. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 8. Joshua xiii. 5. Judges iii. 3). In the time of David, Hamath was a kingdom or principality, the ruler of which was called Toi (2 Sam. viii. 9), and was friendly to David. The extent and boundaries of this district are uncertain.⁷⁴

VI. *Arpad*,⁷⁵ is always spoken of along with Hamath (2 Kings xviii. 34; xix. 13. Isaiah x. 9; xxxvi. 19. Jeremiah xlix. 23), from which we conclude, that it probably adjoined it on the east, beyond the Orontes.

VII. *Hauran*,⁷⁶ which is noticed by Ezekiel (xlvii. 16, 18), as a country bordering on the Hebrew territory, on the north-east, has still the same name, whence was derived the Greek Auranitis and Oramitis. It extends on the east side of the Jordan, from the Lake of Tiberias northwards to Damascus. Burckhardt, who traversed

this district in the autumn and winter of the year 1810, and in the spring of 1812, thus defines its modern boundaries :⁷⁷ “ To the south of Djebel, Kessue, and Djebel Khiara, begins the country of Haouran. It is bordered on the east by the rocky district el-Ledja, and by the Djebel Haouran, both of which are sometimes comprised within the Haouran ; and, in this case, the Djebel el-Drouz, or the Mountain of the Druses, whose chief resides at Soueida, may be considered another sub-division of the Haouran. To the south-east, where Boszra and el-Remtha are the farthest inhabited villages, the Haouran borders upon the Desert. Its western limits are the chain of villages on the Hadjee, [*i. e.* pilgrim’s] road from Ghebarib, as far south as Remtha. The Haouran comprises therefore part of Trachonitis and Ituræa, the whole of Auranitis, and the northern districts of Batanea.”

VIII. *Geshur*,⁷⁸ according to 2 Samuel xv. 8, 1 Chron. ii. 23, was a district of Aram or Syria, which adjoined on the east side of the Jordan, the north border of the Hebrew territory, and lay between Mount Hermon, Maachah, and Bashan, as appears from Deut. iii. 13, 14. Joshua xii. 3. According to the boundaries of the Holy Land, as defined by Moses, Geshur would have formed part of it ; but, in Joshua xiii. 2, 13, it is stated, that the Israelites had expelled neither the Geshurites, nor the Maachabites, but “ dwelt

together with them?" and that the Hebrews did not afterwards [permanently] subdue Geshur, appears from the circumstance, that, in David's time, this district had a king of its own called Tolmai, whose daughter, Maachah, was one of the wives of David, 2 Sam. iii. 3. She bore him Absalom, who afterwards fled to his grandfather, and remained with him for the space of three years, 2 Sam. xiii. 37; xv. 8. The name Geshur signifies "a bridge," (in Arabic, Jishr or Jisser); and in the same tract of country in which Geshur lay, there is still found a bridge over the upper Jordan, between Mount Hermon and the lake of Tiberias, called *Jisr Beni-Yakūb*, i. e. "the bridge of the sons of Jacob."—"It is," says Seetzen, "built of basalt stones, and in good preservation. I found the river here thirty-five paces broad. On the east bank is a *Chàn* (a vacant edifice, where travellers may put up), the greater part of which was destroyed in the French invasion; there is still, however, a small guard, with a receiver of the pontage-dues." Burckhardt⁸⁰ also gives an account of this bridge. "At an hour and a half below the ruins of the city of Noworan is the bridge over the Jordan, called the Djisr Beni-Yakoub. The road continues in an easy slope till a quarter of an hour above the bridge, where it becomes a steep descent. The river flows in a narrow bed, and with a rapid stream; for the lake

Houle, whose southern extremity is about three quarters of an hour north of the bridge, is upon a level considerably higher than that of the lake of Tiberias. The bridge is of a solid construction, with four arches ; on its east side is a khan, much frequented by travellers, in the middle of which are the ruins of an ancient square building, constructed with basalt, and having columns at its four arches. The khan contains also a spring. The Pacha of Damascus here keeps a guard of a few men, principally for the purpose of collecting the *ghaffer*, or tax paid by all Christians who cross the bridge. The bridge divides the pachalics of Damascus and Akka.”^a From the nature of the country, it may be inferred, that this is also an important military pass, which must always have rendered its possession of some consequence.⁸¹

IX. *Abilene* is mentioned in Luke iii. 1, as a province governed by Lysanias, with the title of Tetrarch. From its being introduced along with Galilee, Ituræa, and Trachonitis, it is probable that it lay in the neighbourhood of these dis-

^a *Burckhardt* gives the name in Arabic characters **جسر بني ياقوب**. He adds, that Banias (*Cæsarea Philippi*) bears from a point above the bridge N. by E. There is a guard-house on the west side as well as the east. The ordinary *ghaffer* is about ninepence a head ; but the pilgrims who pass about Easter, on their way to Jerusalem, pay seven shillings.—*Travels in Syria*, p. 315, 316.—M.

tricts; a conjecture which is confirmed by the fact, that, according to Josephus,⁸² Abila of Lysanias (so called, in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name) lay contiguous to Lebanon. The province had its name from the chief place, Abila or Abel,⁸³ a Hebrew word, by which several towns mentioned in the Old Testament were designated, and which probably signifies *a grassy spot*. In the district in question, at the eastern declivity of Lebanon, Ptolemy⁸⁴ sets the Abila of Lysanias, which, in the Itinerary named after the Emperor Antoninus, is placed eighteen miles north-west of Damascus, and thirty-eight miles south of Helopolis or Baalbek. Pococke,⁸⁵ in the year 1737, found in this quarter a high and steep mountain, on the summit of which there was a decayed church, with the ruins of an ancient temple. The inhabitants of the country called the place *Nebi Abel* (*i. e.* the prophet Abel), and believed that Cain buried his brother Abel here. But the origin of this tradition is doubtless to be ascribed to the confounding of the true name of the ancient town, *Abel*, (the signification of which has already been given), with the name of Cain's murdered brother, sounded in the Hebrew, *Hebel*, for which the ancient Greek translators put "Abel." In the inner wall of the above-mentioned church, Pococke discovered a stone about four feet broad, and three feet high,

with a Greek inscription ; but a piece of it having been broken off, the ending of the lines is lost. " This inscription in verse," says Pococke, " appears to have been made in honour of the architect ; it runs in the first person, and begins with the date ; it then mentions " Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene," and intimates in the last line that a lady, named Eusebia, had caused these pillars to be erected. This inscription confirms the opinion that Abila lay in the neighbourhood ; it was without doubt the chief town of the tetrarchate of Abilene, which is said (Luke iii. 1.) to have been under the government of Lysanias. Opposite these ruins, in the valley on the north side of the river Barady, I saw two columns with their entablature, which appear to be the remains of the portico of a considerable building, large stones being scattered here and there on the ground beside them. I conjecture that Abila stood here, and perhaps lay on both sides of the river." When the Romans made themselves masters of Western Asia, this district also became subject to them, and the Tetrarchs, who had probably attained to independence towards the close of the Syrian dominion, were established as their vassals.^a

^a The Abila of Lysanias (Ἀβίλα ἡ Λυσανίου) is, by some writers (*e. g.* Horne in his *Introduct.* Vol. III. p. 508), confounded with Abel-beth-Maachah, which was far to the south of it. There is a seeming discrepancy between the chronology

At present, under the government of the Turks,* Syria is divided into five governments, (Eyalets or Pachalics.)⁸⁶ These are, 1. The pachalic of *Aleppo*, to which belong the sub-governments of Aintab, Badjazze, Alexandretta, and Antioch. 2. The pachalic of *Damascus*, which also embraces Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablous, Bostra, Homs, and Hamah. 3. The pachalic of *Tarablus*, or *Tripoli*, which extends along the sea-coast from Je-bail (Byblus) northwards, as far as Latikia. 4. The pachalic of *Seida* or *Akka*, which, extending southwards from Je-bail to near Jaffa, comprehends also the mountain country of the Druses. 5. The pachalic of *Gaza*, including Jaffa and the neighbouring plains. In the years 1810—1812, the Pacha of Damascus was at the same time Pacha of Tripoli, and consequently in possession of the greater part of Syria. The pachalic of Gaza was then united with that of Akka. The autho-

of St. Luke and Josephus, as to the period of Lysanias' government of Abilene, respecting which see *Winer's Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. Art. *Abilene*. Caligula gave this province to Herod Agrippa, and Claudius confirmed the grant to him, and also to his son.—See Josephus *Antiq.* XVIII. 6, 10; XIX. 5; XX. 7, 1, and *Comp. Munter de Reb. Ituræor.* (Copenhag. 1824.) M.

* Since this was written, Syria has been conquered by Ibrahim Pacha, son of the Pacha of Egypt; but, in the present unsettled state of the East, it is difficult to say into whose permanent possession it may fall.—M.

rity of the Porte, however, has so much declined in Syria, that a number of petty independent chiefs have sprung up, who set the Sultan at defiance. The cities of Badjazze, Alexandretta, and Antioch, have each an independent Aga. When Burckhardt was in that country, Kutshuk Ali, lord of Badjazze, openly declared his contempt of all orders from the Porte, plundered and insulted the officers of the Sultan, as well as all strangers passing through his mountains; and, with a force of less than two hundred men, and a territory confined to the half ruined town of Badjazze, in the Gulf of Alexandretta, and a few miles of the surrounding mountains, his father and he had, for the space of thirty years, defied every attempt of the neighbouring Pachas to reduce them to obedience.

We now proceed to notice particular places in Syria which are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, proceeding from north to south.

1. *Seleucia*.—To distinguish it from other places of the same name, this city received the appellation of “the Pierian” (*Pieria*), from the adjacent mountain Pierius; it was also called “Seleucia on the sea.” According to 1 Macabees xi. 8, Ptolemy (Philometor) king of Egypt, subdued all the towns which lay along the east coast of Syria, as far as Seleucia; and here Paul and Barnabas embarked for the island of Cyprus, (Acts xiii. 4.) This city lay at the

mouth of the Orontes or Aasy, in a naturally strong position. It was built by Seleucus I. king of Syria, after he had overcome Antigonus : for, not considering his power sufficiently consolidated, he fortified this place, in order that he might be able to take refuge in it, should Antioch be wrested from him. It was situated on the south-western declivity of a rock, and was surrounded with strong walls and towers, some remains of which Pocoke found in tolerable preservation. By the Arabian geographers, Abulfeda⁸⁸ and Edrisi, this town is mentioned under the name of Suweida.⁸⁹ A place called Kapse, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, is now found on the site of Seleucia. Beside the harbour is a well fortified suburb, in which markets are held.⁹⁰

2. *Antioch*, on the Orontes, was the residence of the Syrian kings, called the Seleucidæ, (1 Maccabees iii. 37 ; iv. 35), and afterwards became the seat of the Roman governors of Syria. It was built by Seleucus Nicator, the first of the race now mentioned, and was named after his son Antiochus. Its favourable situation, and the attractions of a brilliant court, greatly increased its population. It even became necessary to erect a second town ; Seleucus Callinicus founded a third, and Antiochus Epiphanes a fourth. Each town had its particular designation and distinct walls, the whole being surrounded with a strong fortification, and denominated *Tetrapolis*,

i. e. the four cities.⁹¹ Under the Roman emperors (several of whom selected this as their residence), the greatness of Antioch so much increased, that it extended to three quarters of a geographical mile in length, and, in the time of Abulfeda, it was almost of equal breadth.⁹² In the history of Christianity, this city is remarkable as having been the scene of the labours of Paul and Barnabas, and here the disciples of Christ were first distinguished by the name of "Christians," (Acts xi. 26; xiii. 1, et seqq. xv. 22, et seqq. Galatians ii. 11—21.) It afterwards became the seat of the patriarch or archbishop of the Christian churches in Asia; and, in the time of the emperor Justinian, Antioch, as the chief station of Christianity, obtained the name of Theopolis; *i. e.* "the city of God."⁹³ It suffered frequently from earthquakes, and, in the year 540, the Persian emperor Chosroes laid it waste, and, because the inhabitants had insulted him during the siege, he carried most of them captive. Justinian rebuilt the city, and although it did not reach its former extent and splendour, yet, by the time of the Crusades, it had risen to a place of great importance. In the year 1098, the Crusaders, after a tedious blockade, wrested it from the Saracens by treachery, whereupon Bohemond of Tarentum became prince of Antioch. In the year 1268, it was conquered and laid waste by the Egyptian Sultan

Bibar, and the seat of the Greek patriarch was then removed to Damascus.

The Arabs changed the name Antiochia into *Antakia*,⁹⁴ and the mean remains of this once magnificent city are still so designated.⁹⁵ Otto Von Richter visited it from Aleppo in February 1816.⁹⁶ "On the right-hand of the road," says he, "the Orontes winds through a wide valley, which, at first, rises gradually, but afterwards very steeply, to the snow-clad mountains on the north; towards the left precipitous hills, embellished with the fairest verdure, and a great profusion of flowers, bound the prospect. Limpid rivulets flow from their deep and rugged hollows to refresh the thirsty traveller, and then join the waters of the Orontes. A green rock projects on the slope of the mountain, and upon this the walls of Antioch are seen reared high in serpentine windings and fantastic shapes. I speedily reached the gate of the ancient town, on the top of which there are large stones placed together in the form of an arch, with some ornamental work. It stands between two strong towers, and beside it is a small reservoir, shaded with lofty trees. From this point there is almost a league of paved way to the gate of the modern town. The latter scarcely occupies a fourth part of the ancient Tetrapolis, and is crowded into a corner of it on

the south side of the Orontes. The strong walls now inclose beautiful gardens, full of figs and mulberries, but which contain no other traces of the ancient town than pieces of bricks and tiles. The walls thence ascend the mountain in zigzag lines, and pass over the summit of the rocks. These precipitous heights, although included within the city-walls, could never have been cultivated, as is indeed manifest from the numerous sepulchral cavities. Had a fortress been erected at the top, it could certainly have long withstood the possessors of the town, although too high to be able to command it. Upon the lower and less precipitous declivities, are seen the remains of churches and other edifices, while all around are gardens, blooming in the fairest verdure, and full of the finest almond trees. The modern town, with its narrow streets, presents but a poor appearance, yet I found more activity in the workshops of carpenters and joiners than I expected; and on the banks of the river, which is provided with large water-wheels, there are considerable manufactories of morocco-leather. The fishing in the celebrated lake, through which the Orontes passes, forms an important branch of trade, and is chiefly prosecuted by the Christians. These, however, are much less numerous than might be expected in the place where they first received their distinc-

tive appellation. There are but few Greeks or Armenians.

3. *Daphne*, a place on the Orontes, about four miles south-west of Antioch, with a grove, in which stood a temple consecrated to Apollo and Diana, which afforded an asylum to all who took refuge in it, either on account of having committed some crime, or in order to escape from their enemies. Hence, when the Jewish high priest Onias III., wished to secure himself against the violence of his rivals, he fled to *Daphne*, (2 Maccabees ii. 33); but Menelaus, having gained an ascendancy over Andronicus, who held the government of Syria in the absence of King Antiochus Epiphanes, Onias was artfully enticed out of his asylum and murdered. Of the grove, which was formerly the resort of the inhabitants of Antioch in their pleasure excursions, no remains now exist; and the site of the village of *Daphne* is occupied by a few peasants houses and two small mills, and receives the name of *Beit-el-Maa*, i. e. the Waterhouse.⁹⁷

4. *Chelbon*, *Halybon*, *Haleb*,⁹⁸ commonly called *Aleppo* by Europeans, is one of the most ancient, as it is still the largest and handsomest of the towns of Syria, lying on the river Kowik. It is mentioned under the first of these names by the prophet Ezekiel in the prediction against Tyre, (ch. xxviii. 18). “Damascus traded with thee

in the *wine of Helbon* and fine wool." The numerous gardens, which surround Aleppo to the extent of two leagues, still yield several kinds of grapes: a small white grape especially, according to Russell,⁹⁹ is reckoned superior to all the rest. "The large grapes produced in the houses, upon the vines that cover the stairs or arbours, are of a beautiful appearance, but have little flavour. The ripe grapes begin to appear in the market in September, but the height of the vintage is not commenced till November. It is customary to let off the new wine at Christmas; and reckoned necessary that the juice should remain in the jar six weeks in order to be properly fermented. The grapes produced in the environs of the city, are not sufficient for the annual consumption. The grapes for making wine are brought from Khillis and other places. The white wines are palatable, but so thin and poor, that it is with difficulty they can be preserved sound from year to year. The red wine seldom appears at European tables; it is deep-coloured, strong, heady, without flavour, and more apt to produce drowsy stupidity than to raise the spirits. One-third part of white wine mixed with two parts of red, make a liquor tolerably palatable, and much lighter than the red wine by itself."

It was probably from Seleucus Nicator, who

embellished this city, that Halybon or Haleb received the appellation of *Beroea*,¹⁰⁰ from a Macedonian town of the same name; it having been customary with the Syro-Macedonian kings to designate rivers, mountains, and towns in Syria by names derived from their original country. Haleb is mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 4, under the name of Beroea. Lysias, the guardian of Antiochus Eupator, caused the rebellious and traitorous Menelaus to be here put to death. The modern Aleppo, including twelve suburbs, is about two leagues in circuit. Among all the towns of Syria this is the best built, and it perhaps excels any place in Turkey for cleanliness, which is greatly promoted by the streets being paved with flag stones. The houses are built of free stone, and are mostly inhabited in the upper story only; the lower is used for warehouses, stables, kitchens and the like, or contains an alcove for the head of the family, being furnished with carpets and cushions, and serving as the visiting room. The castle stands in the centre of the town, on an artificial hill, surrounded by a ditch, (which is commonly dry), hollowed out of the soft limestone.¹⁰¹ The population of Aleppo, in the year 1815, did not exceed two hundred thousand souls, among whom were forty thousand Sherifs (descendants of Mohammed), distinguished by their green turbans,

about eighty thousand other Mahometans, and the same number of Christians and Jews,^a the latter amounting to about five thousand.¹⁰² On the thirteenth of August, and following days, in the year 1822, the greater part of this city was converted into a heap of ruins by an awful earthquake.

5. *Rezeph*,¹⁰³ is mentioned by the Assyrian general Rabshakeh (2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12), among the towns or small states of Mesopotamia and Syria, of which the Assyrians had made themselves masters. It can scarcely admit of a doubt, that *Rezeph* was the same town as that called *Resepha* by Ptolemy, and specified by him among the places in the territory of Palmyra. Abulfeda, in his description of Syria, notices it under the name of *Resepha*,¹⁰⁴ and observes, that it was commonly called *Rosaphat Hashem*, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. It lay, according to Abulfeda, (who visited it in person), not quite a day's journey from the Euphrates, on the west side of that river. *Arsoffa*,¹⁰⁵ which Halifax, in the narrative of his journey to Palmyra, mentions as a place lying four leagues from the Euphrates, is not different from *Rezeph* or *Resepha*.

^a Not far from Aleppo is a village called Tedif, to which the Jews resort, on account of a cavern, where they believe Ezra wrote a leaf of the Torah, on his journey to Babylon.—M.

6. *Tiphsah*¹⁰⁶ or *Thipsach*, is mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 24, as being at the extreme north-east boundary of the kingdom of Solomon. "Solomon," it is there said, "had dominion over all the region on this side the river, (*i. e.* the Euphrates) from Tiphsah even to Azzah," (Gaza) which was the south-western border on the Mediterranean Sea. The word Thiphsah signifies "a passage," and thus denotes a place at which it was customary to cross the Euphrates. Now, such a place was that called Thapsacus by the Greek and Roman writers, and the close similarity of that name to the Hebrew name, can scarcely fail to be observed.¹⁰⁷ At Thapsacus, the younger Cyrus, and Alexander of Macedon, led their armies across the river, which was four stadia broad.¹⁰⁸ Xenophon calls Thapsacus a large and rich city. Ptolemy¹⁰⁹ includes it in Arabia Deserta; but Pliny¹¹⁰ and Stephanus, in Syria. It lay at the distance of a long day's journey from Tadmor or Palmyra. In the time of Pliny it was called Amphipolis. In the second Book of Kings, ch. xv. 16, it is related, that Menachem, king of Israel, depopulated "Tiphsah, and the coasts thereof from Tirzah." But this must have been a different place from that on the Euphrates: for the latter was too far from Tirzah, (which lay in the territory of the ten tribes), to admit the supposition, that an Israelitish king, whose power was never extensive, had

made himself master of so large a tract of country, even but for a short period.

7. *Rechoboth* on the river,¹¹¹ *i. e.* on the Euphrates, was, according to Genesis xxxvi. 37, the birth-place of Saul, king of Edom. It is probably identical with the town called by Arabian writers, *Rachabath Malik Ibn Tauk*,¹¹² from its having been built by Malik, one of the governors under the Caliph Rashid. But, even so early as Abulfeda's time, this place had been again laid waste, and had dwindled down to the size of a village, in which, however, some ancient memorials still existed. It stands on a hill between Rakkah and Anah. Rauwolf, who travelled on the Euphrates from Bir to Bagdad, came, between Rakkah and Anah, to Errachabi, "a pretty large town of the kingdom of Arabia, which lies in a beautiful and fertile district, about half a [German] mile from the water."¹¹³ It is not improbable to suppose this town to be Rachabath or Rechoboth on the Euphrates.

8. *Hamath* or *Chamath*, on the Orontes or Aasy, was, in the time of David, the chief town of a principality or small kingdom, on which account the prophet Amos (ch. vi. 2), calls it "the great." In the age of the Jewish king Hezekiah, (about 728 years before Christ), the town, along with its territory, was conquered by the Assyrians, (see 2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 34;

xix. 18. Isaiah x. 9; xxxvi. 19). Jeremiah says, (ch. xlix. 2, 5), "Hamath is confounded, and Arpad, for they have heard evil tidings" respecting the Chaldean hordes which threatened them,—from which it may be inferred, that these places, even under the dominion of the Assyrians, commonly enjoyed tranquillity. It was under the Syro-Macedonian sovereigns that Hamath was first called Epiphania,¹⁴ probably from Antiochus Epiphanes; yet the natives seem always to have preserved the ancient name, which it still bears. Abulfeda, the well-known Arabian geographer and historian, who was prince of Hamath in the first half of the fourteenth century, correctly states,¹⁵ that this city is mentioned in the books of the Israelites. It is situated in a narrow valley, on both banks of the Aasy, and stretches along the steep declivities of the rocks, being embellished, in the lower part, by large and flourishing gardens. It is of considerable circuit, the streets are wide and convenient, but, as in most eastern towns, unpaved and dirty. In the middle of the town is a quadrangular mound, on which the castle formerly stood. The stones and other materials with which this hill seems to have been faced, have been taken away, and used in the erection of modern buildings. In the town are four bridges over the Aasy, which river supplies it with water, by

means of artificial works. These are particularly noticed by Abulfeda,^a and are, as Otto Von Richter remarks,¹¹⁶ among the chief curiosities of Hamath. As the town lies, in part, higher than the channel of the Orontes, the water of the river, in order that it may be diffused over the whole, is raised by means of buckets fixed to high wheels,^b which empty themselves into stone canals, supported by lofty arches. "The luxuriant verdure of the creeping plants, which, being nourished by a continual moisture, grow with exuberance over all the arches and pillars; the adjacent gardens, with their streams of water; the mountainous sides of the valley, covered with houses, and the mosques towering above

^a The following is *Abulfeda's* account of his own city Hamath, taken from *Koehler's* Edition of his *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 106. "*Chamat* is an ancient city, of which mention is made in the books of the Israelites. It is reckoned one of the most pleasant towns of Syria. The Orontes flows round the greater part of the city on the east and north. It boasts of a lofty and well-built citadel. Within the town are many dams and water-machines, by means of which the water is led off by canals from the river to irrigate the gardens, and supply private houses. *Al-Aâriwi*, in the book which he entitled *Ax-Zejadat*, i. e. 'Collections,' calls this an ancient city, of which mention is made in *at-Torah*, i. e. the Pentateuch. It is remarked of this place, and of *Schaizar*, that they abound more in water machines than any other cities in Syria."—M.

^b Called in Arabic نَعُورَة *Naoura*. The name of the largest, alluded to in the text, is *Naoura el Mohammedya*.—M.

them, combine to form a scene that is highly picturesque." The number of these water-wheels is stated by Burckhardt¹¹⁷ at about a dozen; the diameter of the largest is, at least, seventy feet. The chief traffic of the town is carried on with the Arabs, who purchase there the cloth and furniture of their tents. In the year 1812, when Burckhardt was at Hamath, the governor had jurisdiction over about a hundred and twenty inhabited villages, and seventy or eighty which lay waste. The western part of this district forms the granary of northern Syria, though the harvest never yields more than ten for one, chiefly in consequence of the immense number of mice, which sometimes completely destroy the crops.

9. *Riblah*¹¹⁸ is mentioned, (Numbers xxxiv. 11), among those places through which the north-east boundary line of the Hebrew territory should be drawn. At the time of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, the town in question was under the jurisdiction of Hamath, as may be learned from 2 Kings xxiii. 33, and Jeremiah xxxix. 5; lii. 9, 10, where it is related that Nebuchadnezzar^a had his head quarters there, and that the king of Judah was taken thither for judgment. Some ancient Jewish

^a In the passage in 2 Kings, Pharaoh-Necho is mentioned as the possessor of Riblah.—M.

Rabbis were of opinion, that this town was the same as that called by the Greeks, Daphne, which lay near to Antioch; others have even conceived this latter city to be Riblah:¹¹⁹ but Antioch and Daphne lay much too far north from the borders of Palestine to admit of Riblah being taken, either for the one or the other. No place of this, or a similar name, is mentioned by any ancient writers among the Greeks, Romans, or Arabians, as being within the confines of the territory of Hamath; and, consequently, it is impossible more particularly to define the situation of Riblah.

10. *Tadmor*, or *Tamar*,¹²⁰ a town built by King Solomon (1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4),¹²¹ was situated between the Euphrates and Hamath, to the south-east of that city, in a fertile tract, surrounded with sandy deserts.¹²² The Hebrew name *Tamar*, signifies “a palm tree;” hence the Greek and Roman appellation of *Palmyra*, *i. e.* the city of Palms. It still preserves among the Arabs the name of *Thadmor*.¹²³ Palm trees are still found in the gardens around the town, but not in such numbers as would warrant, as they once did, the imposition of the name.

This city was built by Solomon, probably with the view of placing in it a garrison, by means of which, as the northern bulwark of his kingdom, it might serve to prevent the predatory

inroads of the Arabs. Of its fate, after the time of Solomon, nothing is known. The elder Pliny, in the first century of our æra, mentions Palmyra as a considerable town, which, along with its territory, formed an independent commonwealth, between the Roman and Parthian empires.¹²⁴ In the time of the Emperor Trajan, however, it was lying waste, but was rebuilt by his successor Hadrian, and from him received the name of *Hadrianopolis*. Caracalla invested it with the privileges of a Roman colony. During the weak administration of the Emperors Gallienus and Valerian, in the third century, while independent governments were arising in several provinces of the Roman empire, Odenatus made himself master of Palmyra and the whole of Mesopotamia, and, assuming the regal title himself, also bestowed it upon his consort Zenobia and his eldest son Herod.¹²⁵ After his death, Zenobia, styling herself “queen of the East,” ruled over most of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, as well as over her own territories, and with so much firmness and policy, that Aurelian, who vanquished her and led her in triumph to Rome, could not withhold his admiration. On the revolt of Palmyra shortly after, Aurelian having recovered possession, caused it to be levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the inhabitants, without regard to sex, age, or circumstances, to be put

to death. He, however, ordered the temple of the sun to be restored, placed a garrison in the town, and appointed a deputy over the district attached to it. Diocletian adorned the city with a few additional structures ; and, under the Emperor Honorius, it still had a garrison, and was the seat of a bishop. Justinian strengthened the fortifications, and also constructed a very costly aqueduct, the remains of which still exist. When the successors of Mohammed extended their conquests, along with their new doctrines, beyond the confines of Arabia, Palmyra was one of the first places which became subject to the caliphs ; and in the thirty-ninth year of the Mohammedan era, which corresponds to the year 659 of the Christian, a battle was fought here between the caliphs Ali and Moawiah, in which victory declared for the former. In the year of the Hegira 127, (A. D. 744), Palmyra was still so strongly fortified, that it cost the caliph Merwan a blockade of seven months before he could reduce it, the rebel Solyman having shut himself up in it. From this period it fell gradually into decay. Abulfeda, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, speaks of Tadmor, as merely a village, but celebrated for the ruins of old and magnificent edifices.¹²⁶

These relics of ancient architectural art and splendour, were scarcely known in Europe to exist till towards the close of the seventeenth cen-

ture. In the year 1678, some English merchants, at the suggestion of Robert Huntington, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, resolved to convince themselves, by actual survey, of the existence of those immense ruins which were said to be found in the desert, and of which they had heard the Bedouins speak with astonishment. Their first expedition was unfortunate; the Arabs plundered them of every thing, and obliged them to return with their object unaccomplished. In the year 1691, they undertook a second journey from Aleppo, which was successful. Their report of the discovered ruins, however, met with little credit: it was thought improbable that a city, which, according to their accounts, must have been so magnificent, should have been set down in a country surrounded with deserts. But when, in the year 1753, Robert Wood published¹³⁷ the views and plans, which had been taken with the greatest accuracy by Dawkins on the spot, two years before, the truth of the earlier reports could no longer be doubted; and it was confessed, that neither Greece nor Italy could exhibit antiquities, which, in point of splendour, could rival those of Palmyra. The examinations of the above travellers shew, that the ruins are of two kinds;—the one class must have originated in very remote times, and consists of rude, unshapen masses; the other, to which the more gorgeous monuments belong, bears the impress of later ages. They prove from the style

of architecture, that the latter buildings must have been erected in the three centuries preceding Diocletian, in which the Corinthian order of pillars was preferred to every other. With great ingenuity they demonstrate, that Palmyra, which lay at the distance of three days' journey from the Euphrates, owed its prosperity to the advantage of its position on one of the great roads, by which the valuable commerce, which subsisted between Western Asia and India, was anciently carried on. They farther show, that Palmyra reached its highest wealth and greatness at the time, when, having become a barrier between the Romans and Parthians, the inhabitants had the policy to maintain a neutrality in the wars of those two nations, and to render the luxury of both subservient to their own opulence.

The present Tadmor consists of a number of peasants' huts, crowded together upon the pavement of large flat stones, in the outer court of the famous Temple of the Sun. Upon that temple architecture lavished her chief ornaments, and poured forth all her magnificence. The court, by which it was enclosed, was a hundred and seventy-nine feet square. Within the court, a double range of columns was continued all round. More than sixty of these pillars were still standing in November 1815, and for the most part in good preservation. In the middle of the court stood the tem-

ple, an oblong quadrangular building, surrounded with columns, of which, at the time mentioned, there were still standing about twenty, though without capitals, of which they had been plundered, probably because they were composed of metal. The interior of the temple is used at present as a mosque, with a very mean roof. The valley, which forms the road from Homs (Emesa) to Tadmor, is, at the foot and on the sides of the hills, beside the town, covered with sepulchral monuments, which are not all of the same height, though in a similar form. The highest have five compartments: over the entrance are found Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions. A league westward from Tadmor, there issues from the strata of limestone a mineral spring, which soon after divides itself into several branches, and irrigates the gardens. Upon the banks of this streamlet, Otto Von Richter found the only flowers in or near Tadmor—the environs of which nowhere else presented so much as a tuft of grass to the searching eye.

11. *Baal Gad*¹²⁸ lay, according to Joshua xi. 17, “in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon.” It is also said in Joshua xiii. 5, that among those parts of Palestine which were unsubdued by the Hebrews at the death of Joshua was, “all Lebanon toward the sun-rising from Baal Gad, under Mount Hermon, unto the entering into Hamath.” These circumstances lead, with some degree of certainty, to the conclu-

sion, that Baal Gad is the same place, which, from a temple consecrated to the sun having stood there, was called by the Greeks *Heliopolis*, i. e. City of the Sun, and which the natives at present call *Baalbek*, a name which appears to have the same meaning. The second half of that word (*Bek*) is perhaps derived from the Egyptian, *Baki*, "a town;" since, as Macrobius assures us, the worship of the sun was introduced in very remote times by the Egyptian priests into the Syrian Heliopolis. The word *Baal*, i. e. Lord, signified a god over Syria and Phœnicia generally, and hence the above most ancient name of the place, "*Baal Gad*," "the god of fortune," i. e. the planet Jupiter.¹³¹ But when, in process of time, the worship of the Sun and of Jupiter became blended, the name Baal appears to have been also applied to the former.¹³² If the *Baal Hamon*, mentioned in Solomon's Song viii. 11,¹³³ was the name of a place that actually existed, it may reasonably be conceived to have been identical with Baal Gad, or Heliopolis;¹³⁴ for Hamon may have been a corruption for "Amon," the Hebrew way of pronouncing the "Ammon" of the Egyptians, as is seen in the name of the town No Amon, in Nahum iii. 8. The Greeks, however, identified the Egyptian divinity of that name with Jupiter. He was represented by a ram's head as a symbol of the sun, when in the sign Aries in

spring.¹³⁵ It is probable that Baalath,¹³⁶ which is mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 18, along with Tadmor or Palmyra, as places built by Solomon, is only another name for Baal Gad. To this day, the inhabitants of the district of Baalbek ascribe the building of the town to King Solomon.¹³⁷

It lies on the lowest declivity of Antilibanus, at the opening of a small valley in the plain El-Bekaa. The modern town consists of a number of mean huts built of red stone, and a few half-ruined mosques. A small stream runs through the valley: it has been divided into numberless branches for the sake of irrigation. At the deepest part of the valley, it flows round the castle in the neighbourhood of the ruins, which here rise above the dark green of the trees, while the snowy fields on the highest summit of Lebanon (which lies directly opposite) gleam through the airy pillars.¹³⁸ The town, inhabited by a few hundred Maronites, Turks, Greeks, and Jews, belongs at present to an Emir of the Metualis, a Moslem sect, which, on account of its peculiar maxims and usages, has formed itself into a distinct tribe. The ruins of the city of the Sun¹³⁹ lie on an eastern branch of the mountain, and are called, by way of eminence, "the Castle." Among these ruins, the admiration of the spectator is first excited by the remains of the Temple of Jupiter, erected by Antoninus Pius. It is an oblong square building, 138 feet in length,

and 96 in breadth, and is surrounded with pillars of the Corinthian order, 54 feet high, and 6 feet 3 inches in diameter. His attention is then attracted to the ruins of the unfinished Temple of the Sun, which occupy the remaining space, and are divided into two courts. A regular range of apartments runs round the wall of each court, oblong and semicircular chambers alternating. The apartments are full of round and angular niches, which, as well as the doors and gates, are adorned with extreme richness. The circumstance mentioned by Macrobius, of the introduction of the worship of the Sun and of Jupiter into Baalbek from Egypt, is confirmed by the observations of a late traveller, Otto Von Richter.¹⁴⁰ “ Isis and Horus often unequivocally appear. The winged globes, surrounded with serpents, show that the priests of Baalbek received the ideas of their divinity from On, the Heliopolis of Egypt. It is quite impossible to determine whether any thing here was the work of Solomon, or how much of the original erection has been afterwards altered to serve other purposes. We saw the celebrated Trilithon, or the three great stones, in the wall of the old castle. None of them can be under 60 feet in length (the largest is 62 feet 9 inches), and 12 feet in breadth and thickness. They are the largest stones I have ever seen, and might of themselves have easily given rise to the po-

pular opinion, that Baalbek was built by angels and demons at the command of Solomon. The whole wall, indeed, is composed of immense stones, and its resemblance to the remains of the Temple of Solomon, which are still shewn in the mosque Es-Sachra on Mount Moriah, cannot fail to be observed."

Burkhardt having seen Tadmor a few months before visiting Baalbek, comparison between these two renowned remains of antiquity naturally offered itself to his mind. "The entire view of the ruins of Palmyra, when seen at a certain distance, is infinitely more striking than those of Baalbek; but there is not any one spot in the ruins of Tadmor so imposing as the interior view of the Temple of Baalbek. The Temple of the Sun at Tadmor is upon a grander scale than that of Baalbek; but it is choked up with Arab houses, which admit only a view of the building in detail. The architecture of Baalbek is richer than that of Tadmor. The walls of the ancient city may still be traced, and include a larger space than the present town ever occupied, even in its most flourishing state. Its circuit may be between three and four miles. On the east and north sides, the gates of the modern town, formed in the ancient wall, still remain entire, especially the northern gate; it is a narrow niche, and comparatively very small. I suppose it to be of Saracen origin. The women of Baalbek are esteemed the handsomest of the

neighbouring country, and many Damascenes marry Baalbek girls. The air of Belad, Baalbek, and the Bekaa, however, is far from being healthy. The chain of the Libanus interrupts the course of the westerly winds, which are regular in Syria during the summer months; and the want of these winds renders the climate extremely hot and oppressive. The ruined town of Baalbek contains about seventy Metaweli families, and twenty-five of Catholic Christians. The Emir lives in a spacious building called the Serai. The inhabitants fabricate white cotton cloth like that of Zahlc; they have some dyeing houses, and had, till within a few years, some tanneries. The men are artizans here, and not the women.”^a]

12. *Damascus*, the *Dammeseh* of the Hebrews, which the Arabs pronounce *Dimashk*, and the Syrians *Darmsuk*.¹⁴¹ The modern Arabs, however, in conformity with their usual practice of designating the chief town by the name of the country, call it *El-Sham*,¹⁴² i. e. Syria. It lies upon the river Barada, the Chrysorrhoeas of the ancients, in an extensive plain, open to the south and east, but on the west and north shut in by mountains, which send forth so many streams, as to render the district of Damascus the best

^a Burckhardt's Syria, p. 13—15.—M.

watered and most pleasant of all Syria. The Arabs term it one of the four paradises of the East,¹⁴³ and relate that Mohammed, as he viewed from an eminence the splendour of the city of which he wished to take possession, hesitated to enter it, because he knew that man can enjoy only one paradise, and he had resolved that his should not be in this earth.

Damascus is one of the most ancient cities in the world, for it is mentioned, Gen. xv. 2, as the birth-place of Elieser, the steward of Abraham. In the time of David, it formed an independent state, and sent auxiliaries to the king of Zobah. David, however, defeated the armies of both, and placed a garrison in Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6). Yet, in the latter years of Solomon's reign, Reson, the son of Eliada, threw off the Jewish yoke, and restored the kingdom of Damascus (1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25). A long time afterwards, Asa, king of Judah, requested succour of Benhadad, king of Damascus, against Baasha, the king of Israel, and instigated him to an invasion of the enemy's country (1 Kings xv. 18—22). From this time forth, we find the kings of Israel (the ten tribes) in perpetual warfare with the kings of Damasco-Syria, all of whom bore the name, or rather the title of Benhadad.¹⁴⁵ Jeroboam, the second of the name, king of Israel, regained the ascendancy over the king of Syria, and subdued the two principal towns,

Damascus and Hamath, (2 Kings xiv. 25, *et seq.*) On his death, however, the Syrians again recovered their independence, and the title of King of Damascus was assumed by Rezin. Having formed an alliance against Jotham and Ahaz, successively kings of Judah, with Pekah, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Israel, he invaded and laid waste the Jewish territory. Ahaz, being unable longer to withstand his combined enemies, called to his assistance Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, who conquered and destroyed Damascus, and took possession of Damasco-Syria. On the downfall of the Assyrian empire this district became a province of the Chaldean or Babylonian, and afterwards of the Persian and Macedonian empires. After the death of Alexander the Great, Damascus and its territory became a part of the Syro-Grecian kingdom under the Seleucidæ, Antiochus removing his residence hither. During the commotions in Syria under Demetrius II., the Jewish prince Jonathan appears (as may be inferred from 1 Maccabees xii. 32), to have obtained possession of Damascus from the Maccabean family; but whether he maintained himself in possession of that city is not known. Pompey, in the war against Tigranes, caused Damascus to be taken by Metellus and Lælius, about the year B. C. 64. But, in the time of the Apostle Paul, we find Damascus in the power of the

king of Arabia, Aretas, who had in it a viceroy or governor, (2 Corinthians xi. 32, 33, compared with Acts ix. 24, 25).¹⁴⁶ Under the emperor Nero, however, Damascus again appears on coins as a Roman city.¹⁴⁷ Since the year 1517, when it was taken by Selim I., it has been under the dominion of the Turks, and the seat of a pacha of three tails. The Turks account Damascus one of the holy cities,¹⁴⁸ because Mohammed, having been carried up from Jerusalem into the ninth heaven, there to receive the Koran, descended again at Damascus. They also believe that the general judgment will take place there, and that Damascus will be the chief city of the future everlasting kingdom, which is then to be established.

Damascus continues to be one of the finest cities of Syria: the population is about eighty thousand, and is chiefly composed of Turks and Arabs, the number of Christians being estimated at little more than fifteen thousand. The Jews inhabit a separate quarter. "The city," says Otto Von Richter, "has certainly an imposing appearance. I traversed streets of very great length, where the richly-stocked bazaars were intermingled with elegant khans and baths, and neatly adorned coffee-houses. The public edifices are generally splendid; and, among these, the church of the Monastery of St. Paul's Conversion, which belongs to the Spaniards of Pa-

lestine, well deserves to be particularized. The city is enclosed with a ditch mostly dry, and a double wall, with square and round towers of very mean construction. The Arnauts of the pacha would not permit me to view the interior of the castle, the origin of which dates from the time of the crusades. One of the Spanish monks conducted me to the gate of St. Paul, called by the Mohammedans "the east gate." It is an ancient structure; two strong pillars support an arch, upon which a tower had been afterwards erected. From this tower are seen large heaps of ruins, the effects of an earthquake; and farther on, in another tower, they point out the window from which they believe the Apostle Paul to have been let down. The style of this tower, however, connects it with the time of the crusades, and an Arabic inscription, in the Suls character, (very much defaced), which is below the window, is not favourable to the notion of its pretended antiquity. In the neighbourhood of the Christian burial-ground are shown the remains of an ancient street, paved with round stones, cemented by mortar. Under this street an opening seems to have been worn by the water in the solid mass of limestone, and, in this place, the vision of St. Paul, by which he was converted, is erroneously supposed to have occurred.*

* A traveller of our own country, whose remarks on Scriptural localities are commonly more characterized by pious feel-

North-west of the city lies the celebrated Tempe of Damascus, called el-Gutah, and also el-Mardj, (the Meadow).¹⁸¹ It is a deep valley, running through the gardens along the river Barada,

ing than by accurate research, has the following rather credulous paragraph on "the sacred spots in Damascus":—

"The first spot worthy of notice is that on which Saul, 'breathing out threatenings and slaughter' against the Christians, was arrested in his persecuting career, encircled with a celestial radiance of glory, and struck blind by the arm of Omnipotence; while his confederates and attendants became speechless by a voice from heaven thundering in their ears. The exact spot on which this visitation took place is distinguished by masses of elevated gravel and earth, where, on the 25th of January, Christians in Damascus walk in formal procession, and read the history of Saul's conversion. It is remarkable, that, on this occasion, the pacha of Damascus appoints Turkish guards to protect the Christians from insult. The second spot to which I was conducted, is that on which Paul was secretly let down, under cloud of night, from the top of a fortification, to avoid the rage of those Jews who attempted to sacrifice him for changing his principles. The third is the house of Judas, in which Paul was found in the act of prayer under his new character. This is a miserable cellar or grotto, to which access is by descent, all hallowed abodes having been generally taken up in such excavations. The fourth, and last spot I shall mention, is the street denominated in Scripture STRAIGHT, in which the abode just mentioned is situated, and where Saul was restored to sight. It forms the principal thoroughfare in the city, and most literally deserves its Scripture name—since it runs in *an even and direct line*. All these sacred places are to the east of the city, where the convent is situated, and Christians are kept in a body totally distinct from the Turks. The quarter, in all probability, was at first selected on account of events so interesting to the followers of Christ, and important to the furtherance of his cause."—*Rae Wilson's Travels*.—M.

and is inclosed by steep declivities, composed of conglomerated limestone, in which are several natural and artificial caves, through which several branches of the river flow. In a wider sense all the gardens of Damascus are included in el-Gutah, that district containing more than eighty villages, and being one of the most fertile in Syria.¹⁵²

13. *Chobah*¹⁵³ [in the English Bible *Hobah*,] was a place, which, according to Genesis xiv. 15, lay to the north of the city of Damascus. The four kings combined against Abraham, and whom he defeated, were pursued by him thither. The same place is probably intended in Judith xv. 4, where it is said, that the Jews followed the Assyrians, whom they had routed, as far as Hobah. In the time of Eusebius, (at the commencement of the fourth century,) Chobah was inhabited by Ebionites, a sect of Christians who did not wholly lay aside the Jewish ritual.¹⁵⁴ In the year 1666, Ferdinand Von Troilo visited, from Damascus, the village Hoba, which, without doubt, was no other than the ancient Chobah. "It lies," says he "a quarter of a (German) mile north from the town, on the left hand. Near the city of Damascus, is seen a large hill, where the patriarch Abraham overtook and defeated the army of the four kings. There formerly dwelt here a sect of Jews, converted to the (Christian) faith, who were called Hibion-

ites; but, at present, the place is inhabited by a great number of Moors (Arabs) who have a mosque. In the neighbourhood is a cave, in which the patriarch offered to the Divine Majesty his thanksgivings for the victory."¹⁵⁶

14. *Beth-Eden*,¹⁵⁷ which signifies [as it is translated in the English Version] "the house of Eden," *i. e.* house of delight, or the pleasure-house, is mentioned in Amos i. 5, along with other places of Syria, which are threatened with destruction. "I will cut off," saith Jehovah, "him that holdeth the sceptre in Beth-Eden;" whence we infer that this place was at that time (about 773 years B. C.) the residence of a prince. A village still exists on Lebanon, called Ehden, contiguous to the cloister of Kash-heya (known from its Syriac printing-press) and about three leagues from Canubin; and the delightful situation of the place well merits the above Hebrew appellation.¹⁵⁸ It is surrounded with well watered gardens and delightful groves, and the air is so mild, that De la Roque¹⁵⁹ was of opinion that there reigns a perpetual spring. The Christians of the East place here the seat of the terrestrial paradise. In the seventeenth century Eden was the seat of a Maronite archbishop. In the year 1688, De la Roque saw more than twenty small churches in the environs of Eden, which were dedicated to saints who had lived on that part of Lebanon.—This Eden, how-

ever, is not the only place which may be taken for that mentioned by Amos under the above name. Burckhardt, on his return from Baneas to Damascus, passed through a place on the eastern declivity of the Mount Heish or Hermon, which was called Beit-el-Djanné,¹⁶⁰ i. e. "the house of paradise;" a name which agrees in meaning with the Hebrew Beth-Eden. It lies in a narrow *wady*, at a spot where the valley widens a little. On the west side are several catacombs, hewn out in the chalky rock; a proof that this place has, at one time, been of some consequence. At a quarter of a league distant is the Ain Beit el Djanné, a copious spring with a mill near it. From Beth-Eden being mentioned by the prophet Amos in the same verse with Damascus, and the valley of Baalbek, [Bethaven] and, from Baalbek being on the east side of Lebanon, it would seem more proper to consider Beit el Djanné as Beth-Eden, rather than the Eden before mentioned as situated on the north-west declivity of the mountain.

15. *Berothai*¹⁶¹ was, according to 2 Sam. viii. 8, a town in the territory of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, which was conquered by David, and from which he took away much brass. From the latter circumstance, it may be inferred, that there were mines in the neighbourhood of this town. If Zobah were Nesibis, as most moderns have thought, after J. D. Michaelis, then the opinion of Faber,¹⁶² that Berothai is the modern Bir or Birah,

the BIRTHA of Ptolemy, on the east bank of the Euphrates, (where it is still customary to cross that river,) would not be improbable. But, since it has been already shown that ARAM-ZOBAB was on this side of the Euphrates (probably between Aleppo and Damascus,) the opinion of Faber must fall to the ground. Ezekiel (in ch. xlvii. 16,) mentions BEROTAH,¹⁶³ which is not different from Berothai, among the places through which the northern boundary of the Hebrew territory should pass, and observes that Berothah and Sibraim bordered on the countries of Damascus and Hamath. The similarity of the names would lead us to conjecture that Berothai or Berothah was not different from Berytus, the modern Beirūt¹⁶⁴ a sea-port town which is still of importance. The possibility of the king of Zobah's dominions, (to which Berothah belonged, according to 2 Samuel viii. 8,) having extended hither cannot be denied. But the above mentioned passage in Ezekiel scarcely allows us to suppose that Berothah lay near the sea. For, had this been the case, the place would not have been mentioned in verse 25, (as being between Hamath and Damascus,) but rather in verse 15, where it is stated that the north boundary should be "from the great sea, the way of Chethlon, as men go to Zedad." Josephus¹⁶⁵ mentions a town, Berotha, which was situated in Upper Galilee, on the west side of

the lake Merom or Samochonitis. But this cannot well be identified with the Berotha,¹⁶⁶ of Ezekiel, on account of its having been too far south, *within* the confines of the Hebrew territory, and at too great a distance from Damascus and Hamath. All these circumstances render it impossible to determine accurately the situation of the Berothah in the book of Samuel, and which is spoken of by Ezekiel. In 1 Chronicles xviii 8, (the parallel passage to 2 Samuel viii. 8,) we find *Cun*¹⁶⁷ instead of Berotha.

16. *Betach*,¹⁶⁸ as well as Berothai, (along with which it is mentioned in 2 Samuel viii. 8,) was taken by David from the king of Aram-Zobah. The towns were probably contiguous. The Hebrew name of Betach, which signifies *security*, appears to indicate that the place was either naturally strong, or had been fortified by art. Sure data from which to determine the site of Betach, are as much wanting as for deciding that of Berothai. In the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles xviii. 8, *Tibchath* stands in place of Betach.¹⁶⁹

17. *Sibraim*¹⁷⁰ is mentioned in Ezekiel xlvii. 16, after Berotha, among the places through which the north-east border of the Hebrew territory should pass, and it is there observed that this place adjoined Hamath and Damascus.

18. *Siphron*¹⁷¹ is found mentioned in Numbers xxxiv. 8—10, and in Ezekiel xlvii. 15, 17, along with *Chazer-Enan*¹⁷² and *Zedad*¹⁷³ among the

places which lay on the south-east border of Syria, or on the north-east border of the Hebrew territory : no farther account of their situation is given. Jerome, considering Siphron¹⁷⁴ as not different from the preceding Sibraim, takes it for Zephyrium in Cilicia ; but such a supposition is wholly inadmissible, having only for its basis a faint resemblance in the names.

19. *Chazer-hattichon*, i. e. middle-court, lay, according to Ezekiel xlvii. 16, near the confines of the Hauran or Auranitis : consequently it must have been situated on the south-east borders of Syria.

20. *Chethlon*¹⁷⁶ appears, from Ezekiel xlvii. 16, xlviii. 1, to have been situated somewhere on the south-west boundaries of Syria, not far from the Mediterranean sea.

21. *Chelam*¹⁷⁷ is mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 16, 17, as the spot where an engagement took place between the king of Zobah, Hadadezer, and David, in which the latter was victorious. From its being said (verse 17,) that David had crossed the Jordan to meet his enemy, it seems probable that this place lay near the south-east border of Syria.

In very remote times, it is probable that Syria, like so many other countries, was divided into several petty states under their own princes. For kings of Aram or Syria are mentioned, 1 Kings

x. 29 ; and, in chapter xx. 1, it is said that Benhadad, king of Damasco-Syria, had leagued himself with thirty-two kings, by whom are to be understood princes of Syria, and, perhaps, of Mesopotamia. The following kings are expressly mentioned in the historical books of the Old Testament: viz. the kings of Zobah, (1 Sam. xiv. 47. 2 Sam. viii. 3,) the kings of Geshur, (2 Sam. iii. 3,) the kings of Maachath, (2 Sam. x. 6,) the kings of Hamath, (2 Kings viii. 9,) and the kings of Damascus, who afterwards became the most powerful of all. History exhibits the kings of Syria engaged in almost incessant hostilities with the neighbouring Hebrews. Even Saul, the first Hebrew king, attacked the king of Zobah, (1 Samuel xiv. 47,) and David carried on war with Hadadezer, king of that country, who, having been defeated in battle (2 Sam. viii. 3,) formed an alliance with the king of Damascus against David. The latter, however, overcame both, placed a garrison in Damascus, and subjugated Aram, or (as it probably ought to be understood,) the southern part of it, *i. e.* Aram-Zobah. For Toi, king of Hamath, who was also at war with Hadadezer, sent his son with presents to congratulate David upon this victory, (2 Sam. viii. 3—11.) David, however, does not seem to have ruled over Zobah long; for, soon after, the Ammonites combined against David with the neighbouring tribes, among which also

was Aram-Zobah. Joab, David's general, defeated their army; upon which the king of Zobah drew reinforcements from Mesopotamia, but was again vanquished by David at Chelam beyond the Jordan.

Under Solomon we find (1 Kings xi. 2, 3, et seq.) another king of Zobah called Hadadezer, against whom one Reson excited a rebellion, and having possessed himself of Damascus, carried on war with Israel. After this time we find no more mention made of kings of Zobah, but only of kings of Damascus. Probably Reson and his successors had conquered, or otherwise acquired the remaining petty principalities of Syria, and united them with Damascus. Tabrimmon, who governed at Damascus in the days of the Jewish king Abijam, was an ally of the latter (1 Kings xv. 19), but his successor, Benhadad, became a confederate with Baasha, king of Israel, against Asa, the son and successor of Abijam. Asa, however, succeeded in purchasing the friendship of Benhadad by the present of a large sum taken from the temple and royal treasury; and Benhadad, who now turned his arms against Baasha, seized a considerable part of the territory of the ten tribes or kingdom of Israel, (1 Kings xv. 18—22).

The Syrians, who had now learned the interior weakness of the divided Hebrew states, frequently repeated their invasions. Under

Benhadad II. they invested Samaria, the chief city of Israel, but were totally routed by Ahab, (1 Kings xx. 1—22). In the following year, however, they renewed the attack (ver. 26), and again sustained so heavy a defeat, that Benhadad engaged to restore to the king of Israel the towns taken from him by his father, to permit him to build streets in Damascus, and to form a friendly alliance. He refused, however, to deliver up Ramoth in Gilead (1 Kings xxii. 3); whereupon Ahab and Jehosaphat, the kings of Israel and Judah, combined against Benhadad (ver. 4), but with so unfortunate a result, that the Syrians, under Joram, again laid siege to Samaria, (2 Kings vi. 24). On the death of Benhadad II., Hasael usurped the throne, and overcame both Israel and Judah, (2 Kings x. 32; xii. 17, 18, 19; xiii. 22). But his son Benhadad III. not only lost what his father had conquered of the Israelitish territory, but was even obliged to become tributary to Jeroboam II., king of Israel, (xiv. 28). Sometime afterwards, Rezin, king of Syria, aiming at the ascendancy, combined with Pekah, king of Israel, against Judah, and attacked the sea-port of Elath, (2 Kings xiv. 5, 6.). Upon this Ahaz, king of Judah, obtained the co-operation of the Assyrians: Rezin was defeated by Tiglathpilesar, and the inhabitants of Damascus were carried away to Kir, a coun-

try on the river Kur (2 Kings xvi. 7, 8, 9), about the year B. c. 750.

The Syrians then came successively under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Persians. On the overthrow of the last by Alexander of Macedon, a new and powerful kingdom arose after his death—the kingdom of the Seleucidæ,—which continued from the year B. c. 245, to B. c. 64. Syria was then reduced by Pompey to a Roman province, and was governed by a proconsul. Towards the close of the fifth century of our era, when Theodosius divided the Roman empire into eastern and western, Syria constituted a part of the former, and remained under the dominion of the Greek emperors till it was conquered by the Arabs under the caliph Abu Bekr, about the middle of the seventh century. Moawiah made Damascus the seat of the Caliphat, which it continued to be until the Caliphs of the race of the Abbasides removed their residence to Anbar. From the period at which the dominion of the Caliphs began to draw to a close, Syria became the scene of the warfare in which Fatimitic Caliphs from Egypt, and princes of Turkish dynasties, contended for the supremacy, first with the Crusaders, and afterwards with the Mogul hordes, until, in the year 1517, the Turkish Sultan, Selim I., wrested it from the Mamelukes. Since that time it has been

an integral part of the Turkish empire, and is divided into five Pashalics, which have already been enumerated.

The language of the ancient Syrians was cognate to the Hebrew and Arabic; but it bore a still closer affinity to the Chaldee or East Aramaic, from which, indeed, it differed so slightly, that Chaldeans and Syrians could understand each other with ease. "Towards the close of the seventeenth century," says a learned ecclesiastic,¹⁷⁸ born at Tripoli in Syria, "Syriac continued to be spoken in different parts of Syria, particularly along the range of Lebanon, and in the districts of Bshirrai and Tripoli. The Arabic, however, has now supplanted this language; yet in those places where Syriac was formerly spoken, the dialect of the inhabitants is full of Syriacisms. In Malula and Saidania, two villages near Damascus, the inhabitants of which are Melchites, Syriac, as well as Arabic, is spoken, although in a very corrupted form. The ancient language of the country is still used in the church liturgy. In the province of Mosul, and in the district of Mardin, Syriac [or rather Chaldee] is universally spoken, but by no means in purity."^a

^a *Volney* contradicts the statement of Syriac being still spoken in some parts of the country. *Burckhardt* however says, (*Travels in Syria*, p. 22, 184), that it is known and spoken by many Maronites, most of whom write Arabic in Syriac charac-

[“ The earliest document still extant in the proper *Syriac* dialect is the version of the Old and New Testament, which most probably belongs to the end of the second century of the Christian era, about which time we find the Syrian literature in general to have been flourishing and productive. The *Palmyrene* dialect is, with small deviations, *Syriac*; but it is written with letters similar to the Hebrew square character. The inscriptions in this dialect upon the ruins of Tadmor or Palmyra, which are partly accompanied with Greek translations, and extend from the period just before the birth of Christ into the third century, are not in themselves sufficiently numerous and important, and are not in all cases copied and explained with sufficient accuracy, to be of essential service to philology.”*]

ters; and that the boys in the school of Ayn-Warka are taught to speak, write, and read, *Syriac*. The fact above stated respecting the prevalence of the language around Mosul, is confirmed by Niebuhr, Browne, and the American missionaries Smith and Dwight, in their *Researches in Armenia*. London, 1835.—M.

* *Gesenius*, in the admirable *Dissertation on the Sources of Hebrew Lexicography*, prefixed to his *Minor Lexicon*. He refers to *Barthelemy*, *Reflexions sur l'Alphabet et la Langue de Palmyre*. Paris, 1754; and to Swinton in the *Philosoph. Trans.* Vol. XLVIII.—M.

1. [The following are Volney's remarks upon the name "Syria." This name, which, like so many others, has been transmitted to us by the Greeks, is an abridgment of *Assyria*, which was first adopted by the Ionians, who frequented these coasts, after the Assyrians of Nineveh had reduced that country to be a province of their empire.^a The name of Syria had not, therefore, so extensive a signification as it has since obtained. It comprehended neither Phœnicia nor Palestine. The present inhabitants, who, according to the constant practice of the Arabs, have not adopted the Greek names, are ignorant of the name of Syria;^b instead of which they call it Barr-el-Sham,^c [or esh-Sham], which signifies country of the left; and is the name given to the whole space contained between two lines drawn, the one from Alexandria to the Euphrates, and the other from Gaza to the Desert of Arabia, bounded on the east by that desert, and on the west by the Mediterranean. This name of country of the *left*, from its contrast with that of the *Yamin*, or country of the *right*, indicates

^a That is about the year 750 B. C. This is the reason why Homer, who wrote a little before that time, nowhere uses this name, though he speaks of the inhabitants of the country, but employs the oriental word *Aram*, changed into *Arimean* and *Erembos*.

^b Geographers, however, sometimes write it *Souria*, from the constant change of the Greek *υ*, *upsilon*, into the Arabic *و*, *wau*.

^c *El-sham* also is the name of the city of Damascus, the reputed capital of Syria. I am at a loss to discover why M. Savary has made it *el-Shams* or the *City of the Sun*.

some intermediate place, as a common point, which must be Mecca; and from its allusion to the worship of the sun,^a proves at once, an origin anterior to Mahomet, and the existence, which is already certain, of this worship, in the temple of the Caaba." *Volney's Travels*, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 288, 9.]. *Herodotus* says (VII. 63): Οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βάρβαρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι. See additional illustrations of the identity of the names Aramæans, Syrians, and Assyrians, in *Wahl's Asia*, p. 303, note.

2. See *Strabo* XVI. 21. But *Pomponius Mela* (I. 11), and *Pliny* (V. 13, 12), give to Syria a much wider extent, carrying it beyond the Euphrates, and reckoning it to include Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Adiabene.

3. ^{سَعْدُ سَعْدُ} الشام, بر الشام. See *Abulfeda's Tabula Syriæ*,^b p. 5. Syria is called *Soristan*, سورستان only by Persian and Turkish writers. [Abulfeda's remark on the name of Syria, is as follows: "Syria vero

^a The ancient natives, who worshipped the sun, paid their homage at the moment of his rising; their faces were therefore turned towards the east. The north was on the left, the south on the right, and the west behind them, called in the oriental languages, *Acheron* and *Akaron*.

^b This portion of Abulfeda's work appeared in Arabic and Latin, by *J. B. Koehler*, at Leipsic, in 1766; along with extracts from Ibn-el-Wardi, and Notes by Reiske. It is one of the most valuable parts of his Geography, for Syria was his native country; he was prince of Hamath, the Epiphania of the Greeks.---M.

Scham appellata est, quia colonia quædam filiorum Canaan ad illam *taschaamu*, i. e. ad sinistram se flectentes contenderunt. Jacet enim a sinistra *Caäbæ* vultu ad orientem converso. Alii dictam esse tradunt a *Schamo*, filio *Noachi*. Vocatur enim ille secundum dialectum Syriacum, *Scham*. Alii ita vocatam esse volunt, quod habeat *Schamat*, i. e. maculas albas rubrasque et nigras, terras, nempe, his coloribus præditas." *Koehler's Translation.*] :

4. Comp. Vol. I. of this work, p. 5, et seqq.

5. See *Volney's Travels*, Eng. transls. Vol. II. p. 358. [" Syria may be considered as a country composed of three long strips of land, of different qualities : one of these, extending along the Mediterranean, is a warm, humid valley, the healthiness of which is doubtful, but which is extremely fertile ; the other, which is the frontier of this, is a mountainous and rugged soil, enjoying a more salubrious temperature ; the third, which lies behind the mountains to the east, combines the dryness of the latter with the warmth of the former. We have seen by what a happy combination of the properties of climate and soil this province unites in a small compass, the advantages and productions of different zones, insomuch, that nature seems to have designed it for one of the most agreeable habitations of this continent. It may be reproached, however, like almost all hot countries, with wanting that fresh and animated verdure, which almost perpetually adorns our fields : we see there none of that gay carpeting of grass and flowers, which decorate the meadows of Normandy and Flanders, nor those clumps of beautiful trees which give such richness and

animation to the landscapes of Burgundy and Brittany." He says, in another part of his work, (Vol. I. p. 289), "If we examine a map of Syria, we may observe, that this country is in some measure, only a chain of mountains, which distribute themselves in various directions from one leading branch ; and such, in fact, is the appearance it presents, whether we approach it from the side of the sea, or by the immense plains of the desert. We first discover, at a great distance, a clouded ridge, which runs north and south, as far as the sight extends, and, as we advance, distinguish the summits of mountains, which, sometimes detached, and sometimes united in chains, uniformly terminate in one principal line which overtops all : we may follow this line, without interruption, from its entry by the north, quite into Arabia. It first runs close to the sea, between Alexandretta and the Orontes, and after opening a passage to that river, continues its course to the southward, quitting for a short distance the shore, and in a chain of continued summits, stretches as far as the sources of the Jordan, where it separates into two branches, to enclose, as it were, in a bason, this river and its three lakes. In its course, it detaches from this line, as from a main trunk, an infinity of ramifications, some of which lose themselves in the desert, where they form various inclosed hollows, such as those of Damascus and Hauran, while others advance toward the sea, where they frequently end in steep declivities, as at Carmel, Nakoura, Cape Blanco, and in almost the whole country between Bairout,* and Tripoli of Syria ; but in general, they

* The ancient Berytus.

gently terminate in plains such as those of Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre."'] Comp. *Ritter's Geography*, Part II. p. 300, et sqq.

6. *Volney's Travels*, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 304. [In our time, in the year 1759, there happened one, which caused the greatest ravages. It is said to have destroyed, in the valley of Baalbeck, upwards of twenty thousand persons, a loss which has never been repaired. For three months the shocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebanon so much as to make them abandon their houses and dwell under tents. Very lately (the 14th of December 1783), when I was at Aleppo, so violent a shock was felt, as to ring the bell in the house of the French consul. It is remarked in Syria, that earthquakes seldom happen but in winter, after the autumnal rains; and this observation, conformable to that made by Doctor Shaw in Barbary, seems to prove that the action of the water on the dried earth has some share in these convulsive motions. It may not be improper to remark, that the whole of Asia Minor is subject to them in like manner.] When *Olivier* was at Aleppo and Latakia in 1795-6, there were several severe earthquakes. See his *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*. Tom. VI. p. 359.

7. Farther illustrations of the ravages produced by locusts, will be found in the *Alte und Neue Morgenland*. Part IV. No. 1095, p. 370, et seqq., and Part VI. p. 289.

8. ^{٥٥}جبل لبنان, לבנון. See *Abulfeda's Tab. Syr.* p. 18, 163.

9. Comp. *Büsching's Geogr. of Asia* (Ger.) p.

306, of the 4th Edit. *De la Roque's Voyage de Syria*, Tom. I. p. 31; et seqq. *Pococke's Descript. of the East*, Part III. p. 116 of the Ger. Transl. *Note. Oedmann's Collections from Nat. Hist. for the Illustration of Holy Script.* (Ger.). No. II. p. 175. *Ritter's Geogr.* Part II. p. 434.

10. דרמון. The similar Arabic word ^{سوم} خرم signifies a lofty mountain peak. Other conjectures on the meaning of this name, will be found in *Simonis Onomasticon*, Vet. Test. p. 71, 337.

11. שיאן, i. e. an elevation, a high mountain, instead of נשיאן.

12. שריון.

13. שניר.

14. See *Simonis* loc. cit. p. 71. Thus a mountain in Magnesia is called Θώραξ.

14.^a In *Zach's Monthly Correspondence*. Vol. XVIII. p. 348. "One of the tops of Antilibanus," says *Otto Von Richter*. (*Wallfahrten*,^c p. 163), is called "Djebel Scham, the other Djebel Erbain, *Djebel Scheich*, and *Djebel Katana*."

14.^b *Travels*, p. 550 of the Ger. Trans. Comp. p. 449.

15. See *Abulfeda's Tab. Syr.* p. 164.

* *Otto Von Richter*, to whom *Rosenmüller* makes such frequent references, was a young German of the most promising talents, who died at Smyrna, in August 1816, at the early age of 24. His "*Wallfahrten*" (or *Pilgrimages in Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, and Asia Minor*), was drawn up from his diary and letters by *Ewers*, and appeared at Berlin in 1822.—M.

16. ^{١٦} **בקעה, البقعة.** Perhaps this is the valley mentioned by the prophet Amos (ch. i. 5.), as near Damascus and Eden, under the name of **בקעה-אין**, i. e. *the Valley of Nothingness*, or *Vanity*, meaning the “Valley of Idols.” He may have given it this opprobrious designation, because in the temple of Baalbek, at the east end of the valley, the Sun was worshipped with all the pomp of superstition. *J. D. Michaelis*, indeed, in the notes to his German translation of the book of Amos, thinks the prophet put **בְּקָעָה** for **בְּקָעָה**, which, according to the account of an Arab, born in the district of Damascus, (who travelled in Germany in the year 1768,) is the name of a pleasant vale not far from Damascus, still called *Un*. But such a valley is not mentioned by any one of the Arabian geographers, or European travellers, who have written of the country round about Damascus. Besides, the Arab in question, whose name was Joseph Abassi, is declared by Stephen Schulz (*Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 159, 160) to have been an adventurer and impostor, and very probably gave to the questions of Michaelis such answers as the latter seemed to desire. It is on the same doubtful authority that *Vater* relies, in his note on Amos i. 5, in his edition and translation of that book, (Halle, 1810,) when he refers to *Michaelis’* Arabic Grammar, p. 11, of the second edit. *Abulfeda* and other Arabic geographers (Tab. Syr. p. 20, 155, and in the Addend. and Corrigend. p. 1,) mention a country,

البقاع, between Damascus and Baalbek, and perhaps it was to it that Amos had a reference.

17. לבן, לבן, and לבנה, white, Exod. xvi. 31.

Gen. xlix. 12.

18. جبل الثلج . See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 18, 163.

19. *Volney's* Travels, Eng. Trans. Vol. I. p. 301. [If we examine the substance of these mountains, we shall find they consist of a hard calcareous stone, of a whitish colour, sonorous like freestone, and disposed in strata variously inclined. This stone has almost the same appearance in every part of Syria; sometimes it is bare, and looks like the peeled rocks on the coast of Provence. Such, for instance, is that of the chain of hills on the north side of the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and that which serves as a bed to the upper part of the rivulet which passes by the latter city. Near Ermenaz, a village situated between Serkin and Kaftin, is a defile, where the rocks exactly resemble those we pass in going from Marseilles to Toulon. In travelling from Aleppo to Hama, veins of the same rock are continually to be met with in the plain, while the mountains on the right present huge piles, which look like the ruins of towns and castles. The same stone, under a more regular form, likewise composes the greater part of Lebanon, Antilebanon, the Mountains of the Druzes, Galilee and Mount Carmel, and stretches to the south of the Lake Asphaltites. The inhabitants every where build their houses, and make lime with it.]

20. *Volney's* Travels, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 293.

[A view of the country will convince us, that the most elevated point of all Syria is Lebanon, on the south-east of Tripoli. Scarcely do we depart from Larneca, in Cyprus, which is thirty leagues distance, before we discover its summit, capped with clouds. This is also distinctly perceivable on the map, from the course of the rivers. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damascus, and loses itself below Antioch; the Kasmia, which, from the north of Baalbek, takes its course towards Tyre; the Jordan, forced by declivities toward the south, prove that this is the highest point. Next to Lebanon, the most elevated part of the country is Mount Akkar, which becomes visible as soon as we leave Marra in the Desert. It appears like an enormous flattened cone, and is constantly in view for two days' journey.]

21. *Rawolf's Travels*, p. 274.

22. *Otto v. Richter's Wallfahrten*, p. 76, et seqq.

23. *Joh. Heinr. Mayr*, Schicksale eines Schweizers, Vol. III. p. 80.

24. *Mayr* (loc. cit.) alludes to the fine effect of the snow upon Lebanon, as seen in relief against the clear azure of the sky, and illumined by the rays of the sun.

25. *Maundrell* mentions, that as he was travelling on Lebanon, on the 6th and 7th of May, he rode for six leagues in deep snow. "These heights," he adds, "thus serve as a repository for the snows, which are melted in summer, and supply the rivers and springs in the valleys with water."

26. *Tacitus*, *Histor.* V. 6. Praecipuum montium Libanum (terra) erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ar-

dores opacum, fidumque nivibus. Idem annem Jordanem fundit alitque.

27. Voyage au Levant, p. 307 of the Folio edit.

28. Loc. cit. Book III. p. 73, et seqq. Comp. p. 8, and *De la Roque's* Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban. Tom. I. p. 194.

29. Pleasure-houses or summer-palaces are not, indeed, expressly mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 19, but as it is there said, "he built upon Lebanon," it is probable that the erections there were of that description. It is quite in accordance with the practice of eastern monarchs, to pass the summer in some mountainous tract of their dominions, where the temperature is cooler. Yet it is incorrect to understand with some, that *the house of the wood of Lebanon*, mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 2; x. 10, was a pleasure-house built by Solomon on that mountain. See above, p. 210 [and below, note 37].

30. In *Paulus' Collection*, Part II. p. 214.

31. *Mayr*, loc. cit. Book II. p. 228, 238. Book III. p. 63.

32. The wines of Lebanon are likewise celebrated by *De Bruyn*, (Voyage, p. 307). He calls them, "les meilleurs vins et les plus delicats, qui se trouvent dans tout le reste du monde. Ils sont rouges, d'une tres belle couleur, et si onctueux, qu'ils attachent au verre. Aussi le Prophete Osée en tire-t-il une comparaison, quand il dit," ch. xiv. 8, etc.

33. See *Belon's* Observations, Livre II. ch. 107, 110.

34. Whatsoever was known respecting these cedars in the middle of the eighteenth century, was fully de-

tailed in Trew's *Historia cedrorum Libani*, Nuremberg, 1757, 4to, and in the *Apologia et Mantissa observationis de cedro Libani*, Nuremberg, 1767. Both are preserved in the *Nov. Act. Acad. Naturae Curiosorum*, the former in the *second*, the latter in the *first* part.

35. *Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 459.

36. *Curtius Hist. Alexandri M. L. V. Cap. 7.*
Multa cedro aedificata erat regia.

37. *Iken*, in his *Dissert. de Baal-Gad*, § 13, (in the *Dissertt. Philologico-Theologg. Part I. p. 251.*) is at great pains to prove that the *בית יער הלבנון* was a summer-palace or pleasure-house on Lebanon. But his reasoning is inconclusive; for in 1 Kings vii. the reference is plainly to the palace in Jerusalem; and when it is said in ch. x. 17, that Solomon preserved in that palace a large quantity of targets and shields of gold, and caused his throne in it to be constructed in the most curious and costly fashion—all that seems to point rather to a palace in the residence city, than to a mere villa or place of summer retreat.

38. *Loc. cit. vol. iii. p. 76.*

39. *Travels*, Part I. p. 62, of the German translation.

40. In *Zach's Monthly Correspondence*, vol. xiii. p. 549.

41. See *De la Roque*, *loc. cit. tom. i. p. 70.* *De Bruyn*, p. 308. *Burckhardt*, vol. i. p. 99. The Arabic word *نمورة*, which that traveller interprets by "tiger," rather signifies panther, (as is remarked by

Gesenius in his Note, p. 497.)^a Like the Hebrew נמר. That animal is met with in Lebanon, (Song of Solomon, iv. 8), and also, according to Seetzen, in the district of Banyas. *Schulz* (loc. cit. Part V. p. 465,) relates, that the son of a Maronite priest on Lebanon was attacked by tigers, and after a vigorous defence made his escape, but afterwards died of his wounds. These without doubt were *panthers*. Comp. *Oedmann's* Collections, Book II. chap. 9, p. 199.

42. The Mount Hor mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, is evidently different from that upon which Aaron died, (Num. xxxiii. 38), on the south-eastern border of Palestine. *Bellermann* (Handbuch. Part II. p. 377,) takes that northern Mount Hor for the southern part of the Mons Casius, now Jebel Okrab, (See *Von Richter's* Pilgrimage, p. 284). But it is scarcely probable that Moses would have placed the boundary of the land to be conquered by the Israelites so far to the north. Hor הור is an ancient appellation, synonymous with הר a mountain, (comp. Gen. xlix. 26, where, however, the true punctuation is, הַרְיָ עַד,) and it came to be used as a proper name, only in the designation of certain mountains. In Numb. xxxiv. 7, *Hamelsveld*, (Bib. Geog. Part I. p. 174 of the German translation), instead of הַר הַחֹר would read with the LXX. הַר הַחֹר, "the Mountain," i. e. the hill so designated by way of pre-emi-

^a The reference is to the German translation of Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, edited by Gesenius, with Notes.—M

nence,—meaning Lebanon. But that is a needless alteration. Comp. the note of *Jänisch* the German translator.

دون

43. أرنت See *Schultens'* Index Geograph. in his *Vita Saladini*, under : Fluvius Orontes.

44. العاصي^a *De la Roque*, loc. cit. Tom. I. p. 262. *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 231.

45. Tab. Syr. p. 149. The Jews translate the Arabic name by the Hebrew מרוד. Thus, in the usual subscription at the end of a MS. of the Pentateuch in the Bodleian Library, it is said to have been written במדינת דמת דעל נהר מרוד, “in the city of Hamath, which is on the river of Marud.” See *Kennicot's* Dissert. Gener. in V. T. p. 344 of *Bruns* edition. The wheels which raise the water of the Orontes and lead it into canals, by which it is spread over the country, are described by *Pococke*, Part II. p. 210. *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 252; and *Otto von Richter*, p. 232.

46. * Aξιος. See *Von Richter*, loc. cit. p. 230.

47. See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 149.

48. النهر المقلوب in *Abulfeda* loc. cit. [El-Nahr-el-Maklūb, i. e. *fluvius inversus*, so called, says *Abulfeda*, because it runs from south to north. This name will remind the reader of the *Mukallibé* or *Mujelibé*, (i. e. the overturned), the designation gi-

* *El-Aasi*, i. e. the Rebel, so called, says *Volney*, (vol. ii. p. 155), on account of its swiftness. But that seems a mistake. See *Abulfeda's* remark in the text of *Rosenmüller*.—M.

ven to one of the great heaps of ruins at Babylon. See the present volume, p. 80. The following is the course of the river, as described by Abulfeda, who was prince of Hamath, and must have been well acquainted with his native stream: "Ad fontem est rivulus scatens e pago *ar Ras*, ad diætæ fere distantiam a Baalbekh septentrionem versus. Inde versus eandem plagam pergens devenit ad locum, qui *Kayem al Harmel* dicitur, inter *Gjusi* atque *ar Ras*, ubi in vallem abrumpitur, ibique emergit maxima hujus fluvii pars ex loco, qui vocatur *Magharat ar Rahebi*, i. e. spelunca religiosi. Deinde in boream pergens, praeterlapsus *Gjusi*, effunditur in locum *Kades* ad occasum *Emessae*, ex quo egressus praeterita *Emessa*, inde *ar Rostana*, tum *Chamata*, post *Schaizara*, tandem miscetur lacu *Apameensi*, emergens vero ex illo super *Darkhush* tendit ad *Gjasr al Chadid*. In quo omni cursu orientale latus montis ad *Lokhami* stringit. Postquam vero devenit ad *Gjasr al Chadid* secat montem illum, tumque in arcum inflexus tendit versus austrum occidentalem, alluensque moenia *Antiochiae* postremo in mare Mediterraneum exit apud *Suweidiam* ad Longit. 61, Lat. 36." Supplem. ad Tab. Syr. by Koehler, p. 149—51.]

49. That Pliny gives an incorrect account of the sources of the Orontes, is shewn by *De la Roque*, loc. cit. Tom. I. p. 165, et seq.

50. 'Ελευθερος. In the Syriac version the name is rendered by ܐܒܝ ܚܪܝܬܐ, "son of the free," i. e. the free. It is uncertain, however, whether this Syriac name was ever in use. Perhaps it was called "the Free" by the Greeks, because it formed the boundary between

Syria and Phœnicia, and did not properly belong to either country.

51. **النهر الكبير.** Another river of this name is that mentioned by *Abulfeda*, (in his *Tabula Syr.* p. 152), which rises above Apamea, and runs into the lake that has its name from that town. *Shaw* is of opinion (*Travels* p. 235 of the Germ. transl.) that the Eleutherus was that river which is now called Nahr-el-Berd, or Barada, an opinion adopted by *J. D. Michaelis*, in his Note upon 1 Macc. xi. 7, but see *Büsching's* Geogr. of Asia, p. 326 of the 3d edition. Comp. *J. M. Hase's* Regni Davidici et Salomonei Descriptio, p. 266. *Maundrell* in Paulus' Collection, Part I. p. 35, and the note of the editor at p. 303.

52. Loc. cit. p. 270.

53. **بردا.** See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 15, 174, 175. Comp. *Goliuz'* on Alfargani, p. 128. *Burckhardt*, p. 37. The course and various branches of this river have been most minutely described by *O. von Richter* (in his *Wallfahrten*, p. 154, et seq.) whom we have here followed.

104. **אמנה** also **אבנה** (Song of Solomon, iv. 8, and 2 Kings v. 12,) according to the marginal reading. This discrepancy arises from the frequent commutation among the orientals of the letters b and m. The name probably denotes "a river which maintains a perpetual flow," in contradistinction to the many streams in the east which in summer are dried up. Comp. **אמן** used of rivers in this sense, Isa. xxxiii. 16,

and, on the other hand, מַכּוּב, *a deceitful brook*,^a Jer. xv. 18.

55. פֶּרֶר, *the rapid*. Comp. the Samaritan and Chaldee, פֶּרָה, פֶּרָא *to flow*, and the Arabic فَرَّ *to be quick*. See *Simonis Onomast.* V. T. p. 134.

56. الفبيجة. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 174. The root فاج signifies in the fourth form *to haste, to flow*. The name is thus synonymous with פֶּרֶר.

57. Loc. cit. p. 156, et seqq. Comp. *Pococke's Descript. of the East.* Part II. p. 179.

58. אֶרֶץ צוּבָה. *Simonis* loc. cit. p. 236, explains the name Syria cavitatis (coll. Arab. صَاب, *depressit, inclinavit*), i. q. Coele-Syria.

59. In the Dissert. de Syria Sobaea, in his Commentatt. in Societ. Scientiar. Goetting. per annos 1763—1768, praelectt. Bremen, 1769, 4. P. 67, et seqq.

60. See above in chap. x. That the auxiliaries of the Ammonites were brought from a remote country beyond the Euphrates, on the borders of Assyria, is in the highest degree improbable.

61. See *Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 59 of the Edit. of L'Empereur, and *Goliush* on Alfargani, p. 275.

62. *Bochart* Geogr. S. P. I. (Phaleg.) L. II. Cap. 6, p. 89: In Ptolemaeo *Sabe* et *Barathena*, Arabiae

^a Some think that the expression there "the deception of waters that are not sure or real," has rather a reference to the well-known phenomenon called the *mirage*, so common in the deserts of the east. See *Harmer's Observat.* ch. v. obs. 4, note.—M.

desertae urbes in Palmyrenae finibus, videntur esse *Soba et Berothai*, Sobaeorum oppida, quorum in Scriptura mentio Comp. Hase, loc. cit. p. 258.

63. ארץ דמשק.

64. ארץ חדרך. Joseph Abassi, the individual above-mentioned at note 16, assured *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebb. p. 677), that he had heard of a small town, Chadrach, *حدرک*, lying to the east of Damascus, and which had been formerly the capital of a large district, and was once larger than Damascus. But, as we before observed, every statement of this man is to be received with very great suspicion.

65. ארץ מעכה. The name מעכה from מעך, *to press, to press together*, seems to denote a country inclosed and hemmed in by mountains, a land of valleys.

66. The Chaldee translators render מעכה by אפיִקִירוֹס, *Ἐπίκρατος*. That is the name of a place mentioned by Ptolemy, not far from Callirhoë, in the district of the modern Schaubek. See *Michaelis' Comment. de Bello Nesibeni*, in the *Commentt.* (p. 104), cited at note 59. *Bochart* (loc. cit.) regards the interpretation of the Chaldee Transl. as not improbable. But *Hase* (loc. cit. p. 278) correctly remarks, that the situation of Epikæros, on the east side of the Dead Sea, in Arabia Petrea, was too far south to correspond with the site which, in scripture, is assigned to Maachah. The Syrian translator of the Books of Chronicles has in 1 Chron. xix. 6, instead of Maachah, *مير* Choron, or Charan. The well-known place of this name in Mesopotamia is

here out of the question. But *Burckhardt* mentions (Travels, p. 350), among the decayed towns and villages of Ledja, a district to the south-east of Damascus (in the Trachonitis of the ancients), a place

حران, Charran, which answers very well to the situation of Maachah, and was probably what the Syrian translator had in view.

67. ארץ בית-רחוב, *i. e.* Syria the wide or broad [country], בית, denoting, according to the Syriac *usus loquendi*, a country, a territory. See *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 99.

68. ارض الحولة. See *Schultens'* Geog. Index in Vita Saladini under *Haula*.

69. In the Monthly Correspondence, Vol. XVIII. p. 342.

70. بحيرة الحولة.

71. Travels, p. 36, (of the original English.)

72. From the comparison above given, of the different statements in the historical books of the Old Testament, it will be seen how improbable is the opinion propounded by *Michaelis*, (*de bello Nesibeno*, p. 100,) that Aram Beth-Rechoboth was the Rechoboth on the Euphrates mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 37. Respecting that place, see the present chapter at note 111.

73. דחמת, *defence, protection*. [See Vol. I. p. 184, note.]

74. Comp. *Hase*, loc. cit. p. 257, et seqq.

75. ארפר, probably *stay, prop*, from the Arabic رَفَد *to support*.

76. חורן, حوران. This district perhaps took its name from the many caves (דור) to be found in it, and which are still used as dwellings by the inhabitants. See *Seetzen* in [*Zach's*] *Monatl. Correspond.* Vol. XVIII. p. 355, [and Vol. I. of the present work, p. 87, 282.]

77. Loc. cit. p. 285 [of the original Eng.]

78. גשור a bridge, like the Arab. جسر.

79. Loc. cit. p. 344.

80. Loc. cit. p. 315 [of the original Eng.]

81. *Gesenius* (Manual Lexicon, p. 159 of the second edit.) finds the name Geshur applied to three different countries. 1st, One in the country east of Jordan, inhabited by the Canaanites, Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 13. 2d, Another in the south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 2; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. And 3d, A third in Syria, governed by a king, whose daughter David married, 2 Sam. iii. 3; xiii. 37; xv. 18. In his *Additions and Corrections* to his Lexicon, *Gesenius* thinks this last Geshur was perhaps the place now called Djisir Shogr, جسر شجر, or the Bridge of Shogr, a very strong fortress on the Orontes, (*Burckhardt*, p. 216, 512). But a glance at the map shews that that place lies too far north, (for it is between Hhamath and Antioch,) and too remote from the borders of the Israelitish territory, to correspond to

the above-mentioned references to it in the Old Testament. It is, moreover, not easy to distinguish between Geshur noticed in Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 13, and that of which mention is made in the second book of Samuel; which would lead to the conclusion, that there were but *two* countries of this name in the East.

82. Antiqq. XIX. 5, 1. Comp. Gesenius on *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 537.

83. אַבְלִי. See *Gesenius'* Manual Lexicon, p. 7 of the second edit.

84. Book v. ch. 18.

85. Description of the East, Part II. p. 169.

86. According to *Burckhardt*, loc. cit. p. 119. *Volney* gives a somewhat different division, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 138, Eng. Transl. [He says: "After Sultan Selim I. had taken Syria from the Mamlouks, he subjected that province, like the rest of the empire, to the government of Viceroys or Pashas, invested with unlimited power. The more effectually to secure his authority, he divided the territory into five governments or pachalicks, which division still remains. These pachalics are those of Aleppó, Tripoly and Saide, lately removed to Acre; that of Damascus; and, lastly, that of Palestine, the seat of which is sometimes at Gaza, and sometimes at Jerusalem.] But *Burckhardt* expressly says, that changes have since that period (1784) taken place in the division of the pachalics. As to the division of Syria in the middle ages, see *Freytag's* tenth note to the *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*, edited by him, Paris 1816, p. 46.

87. Comp. *Mannert's* Geog. of the Greeks and Romans, Part VI. Div. I. p. 478, et seqq.

88. *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 27, Comp. p. 202, and *Golius* on *Alfargani*, p. 282.

89. ^{سويداء}سويداء. Two other towns of this name, the one in Auranitis, the other in Mesopotamia, are mentioned by Yakut, in *Schultens' Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin.* under *Sowaidaa*.^a

90. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part II. p. 266. He has given a plan of the modern town in Plate XXV.

91. *Strabo*, XVI. 2, 4. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 467, et seq.

92. *Tab. Syr.* p. 116.

93. *Procopius* de *Ædificiis*, II. 10, 5, et seqq. and V. 5.

94. انطاكية. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 115. Comp. *Golius* on *Alfargani*, p. 278, and *Schultens*, *Index Geogr.* under *Antiochia*.

95. The ruins and antiquities of Antioch have been minutely described by *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 277, et seqq. Comp. *Volney*, vol. ii. p. 154, Eng. transl. [*Volney's* description follows: "Next to Aleppo, Antioch, called by the Arabs Antakia, claims our at-

^a *Reiske*, in his *Animadversiones ad Abulfedæ Tabulam Syriæ* (Koehler's Edit. p. 202), says, "Sowaida and Sowaidia are different cities. The Sowaidiah in the text, is Seleucia on the Orontes; but Sowaida is a city of Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates."—M.

tention. This city, anciently renowned for the luxury of its inhabitants, is now no more than a ruinous town, whose houses, built with mud and sand, and narrow and miry streets, exhibit every appearance of misery and wretchedness. It is situated on the southern bank of the Orontes, at the extremity of an old decayed bridge, and is covered to the south by a mountain, upon the slope of which is a wall, built by the crusaders. The distance between the present town and this mountain may be about 400 yards, which space is occupied by gardens and heaps of rubbish, but presents nothing remarkable..... The plain of Antioch, though the soil is excellent, is uncultivated, and abandoned to the Turkomans; but the hills on the side of the Orontes, particularly opposite Serkin, abound in plantations of figs and olives, vines, and mulberry trees, which, a thing uncommon in Turkey, are planted in *quincunx*, and exhibit a landscape worthy our finest provinces.”]

96. Wallfahrten, p. 281.

97. *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 281. *Richter*, p. 284.

98. חלבון, Χαλυβών, ⁵حلب. See *Abulfeda's Syria*, p. 117. *Golijs*, loc. cit. p. 270, and *Schultens*, Index Geogr. under *Haleb*.

99. Natural History of Aleppo, Part I. p. 103, of the Ger. Transl.

100. Comp. *Cellarius*, Notit. Orbis. Antiq. Vol. II. Lib. III. Cap. 12. Sect. 3, § 54.

101. A detailed and valuable account of this city,

has been given by *Russell*,* in the work cited at note 99. See also *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 219. *Volney*, loc. cit. Vol. II. p. 147, Eng. Transl. and *Richter*, loc. cit. p. 245.

102. *Richter*, p. 250.

103. *הרצ* i. e. *stone-pavement, a paved way*. See the next note.

104. الرصافة. See *Abulfeda's Syr.* p. 119. The name signifies, as *Kehr* remarks, (Status Monarch. Asiat. Saracen. p. 21.) λιθόστρωτον. He says (at p. 10), in speaking of a part of the city of Bagdad, which bore that name: Et quia *lapidibus stratae erant viae*, peculiari nomine, quod alii etiam oppidis, vicis, palatiisque fuit inditum, *Rusafa* fuit appellata. *Yakut* mentions, in his Dictionary of Geographical Synonyms, no fewer than *nine* towns of this name. See *Köhler's* addenda to his edition of *Abulfeda's Syria*, p. 19.

105. In the *Philosophical Transactions* for the months of November and December 1695, p. 151. "Nor had we travelled long after the sun was up,

* *Dr. Alexander Russell* was Physician to the British Factory at Aleppo. His work first appeared in the year 1756; but an enlarged and much improved edition was given in 1794 by his brother *Dr. Patrick Russell*, (who had succeeded him at Aleppo,) in 2 vols. 4to. The title is unfortunate, and conveys an imperfect, not to say inaccurate idea of the contents of the book, which embraces almost everything of interest connected with eastern manners, and, as a whole is, one of the best productions of the kind in the English language. The brothers were natives of Scotland; the senior died in 1768, and the junior in 1805.—M.

before, by the help of a rising-ground, we discovered *Arsoffa*, the place whither we were tending, which gave us hopes we should quickly be there; but having a dry tiresome plain to traverse, and the hot sun causing our mules a little to slacken their pace, 'twas after ten o'clock before we reached it: and which was more vexatious still, finding no water any where near, we were necessitated to proceed forward for the river Euphrates, which we found four hours distant from hence. *Arsoffa*, or, as the Arabs call it, *Arsoffa Emir*, seems to be the remains of a monastery, having no town nor village near it, and being one continued pile of building of an oblong figure, stretching long-ways east and west, and enclosing a very capacious area, etc.

106. רמפסד, *i. e. passage*. [See Gesenius, under רמפסד.]

107. Comp. *Hase*, Regn. Davidic. et Salomon, p. 269, et seqq.

108. See *Xenophon's* Anabasis I. 4, and *Arrian's* Exped. Alex. III. 7.

109. V. 15.

110. Hist. Nat. V. 24.

111. רחבות הנהר *Streets, i. e. the village or town on the river.*

112. رحبة مالك بن طوق See *Schultens'* Index Geogr. under "Rahaba." Malek was one of the generals of the Calif Harun-er-Rashid. See *Abulfeda's* Annals. Tom. II. p. 245. Several towns of the name of Rahabah, are mentioned by *Freitag* in his notes to the Selecta ex Historia Halebi, (p. 124), from the Geographical Dictionary of *Soyuthi*.

113. *Travels*, p. 186.

114. *Theodoret* on Zech ix. 1. 'Η δὲ 'Ημὰθ νῦν Ἐπιφάνεια προσαγορευομένη. *Jerome*, in his *Quæstt. in Genes.* (ch. x. 15), says: "*Amath* usque ad nostrum tempus, tam a Syris quam ab Hebraeis, ita ut apud veteres dieta fuerat, appellatur. Hanc Macedones, qui post Alexandrum in Oriente regnaverunt, *Epiphaniam* nuncupaverunt. Nonnulli Antiochiam ita appellatam putant. Alii, licet non vere, tamen opinionem suam quasi verisimili vocabulo consolantes, *Emath* primam ab Antiochia mansionem Edessam pergentibus appellari putant." And in his *Comment. on Ezek.* ch. xlvii. 15, 16, "*Emath*, quae nunc *Epiphania* nominatur, ab Antiocho, crudelissimo tyrannorum, nomine commutato; nam cognomentum habuit Ἐπιφάνης." See also *Josephus* *Archæol.* I. 6, 2. *Comp. Michaelis* *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Ext. Tom.* II. p. 52.

115. *Tab. Syriæ*, p. 108.

116. *Wallfahrten*, p. 231.

117. *Travels*, p. 249. *Comp. Pococke*, Part II. p. 209.

118. רבולה. The root signifies (in Arabic رَجُلٌ) *to be abundant, rich, fruitful*. It probably received its name from the fertility of the soil.

119. See *Bochart's Geogr. Sacra*, Part I. seu *Phaleg.* p. 468. *Comp. Michaelis* *Suppl. ad Lexx.* p. 2229.

120. תמר and תרמר. The latter name, which seems the more ancient, is found in 1 Kings ix. 18 in the text (*Kethib*), but the former stands in the margin

(*Keri*). Having become the more usual designation, it is used in the later historical book (2 Chron. viii. 4) without any various reading.

121. According to the traditions of the Arabs, this city existed even before the time of Solomon. See *Schultens' Index. Geogr. ad Vit. Saladin*, under "Tadmora." In this case, the Hebrew word *בנה*, in 1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4, would denote *to rebuild, to restore*, as it often does. [See p. 68, above.]

122. "On the morning of the 19th November," says *Otto von Richter*, (*Wallfahrten*, p. 214,) "I found myself on a wide desert plain, between two ridges of low, bare, rugged hills on the north and south. They gradually contract the valley, and at the point where they meet lies Tadmor, at the commencement of an extensive flat, which runs in a north-easterly direction towards the Frate (the Euphrates). . . . Upwards of a league from Tadmor rises the fountain of Abulfauaris, the water of which was conveyed into the town by a mean and now ruined aqueduct. Comp. *Volney's Travels*, Vol. II.

123. ^{ددم} *تدمر* or ^{ددم} *تدمر*. See *Schultens loc. cit.*

124. *Histor. Nat. L. V. Cap. 25*, *Palmira nobilis urbs situ, divitiis soli, et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exempta a rerum natura, privata sorte [i. e. sui juris] inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura.*

125. See *Trebellius Pollio* (in the *Scriptor. Hist. Aug.*) *Gallieni* duo *Cap. 3, 13*, and *Triginta Tyranni*, *Cap. 14, 29*. Comp. *Christoph. Cellarius Dissertat.*

de Imperio Palmyreno, Halle, 1693, reprinted there in 1708, 4to.

126. See *Rommel's* *Abulfedae Arabiae descriptio*, p. 98.

127. The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor in the Desert, Lond. 1753, large fol.

128. בעל נר.

129. بعلبك. See *Schultens' Ind. Geogr.* under Baalbechum.

130. Saturnal. L. I. Cap. 23, Assyrii [i. e. Syri] quoque Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis caerimoniis celebrant in civitate, quae Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus Dei simulacrum sumtum est de oppido Aegypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Aegyptios Senemure; perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam, legatum Deleboris, regis Assyriorum, sacerdotisque Aegyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partemetis, diuque habitum apud Assyrios, postea Heliopolim commigravit. Comp. Lucian de Dea Syria, § 5.

131. See *Gesenius' Comment. on Isaiah*, Part II. p. 283, 335, et seqq.

132. *Macrobius* loc. cit. Hunc vero eundem Jovem Solemque esse, cum ex ipso sacrorum ritu, tum ex habitu dignoscitur: simulacrum enim aureum specie imberbi instat, dextra elevata cum flagro in aurigae modum; laeva tenet fulmen et spicas, quae cuncta Jovis Solisque consociatam potentiam monstrant.

133. בעל חמון.

134. See *Iken's Dissert. de Baal-Hamon et Baal*

Gad, in his Dissertt. philologico-theologg. T. I. p. 236. Comp. *Michaelis* Supplemm. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 197 and 201. *J. L. Vethusen's* Amethyst, a contribution of Historical and Critical Researches on the Song of Solomon, p. 88. The last mentioned writer thinks with Iken and Schultens, that the second half of the name Baalbek (Bek) signifies, like the Arabic, , to press together, to crowd together—"a dense crowd of people," and was thus synonymous with גֶּבַע, a troop, and דָּחֵם, a multitude, in the Hebrew names of this place, בַּעַל דָּחֵם and בַּעַל גֶּבַע. In that case, it may have received the designation of "Baal's crowd," from the great number of pilgrims that resorted thither. But it is a more probable conjecture (as above hinted), that *Bek* was formed from the Egyptian *Baki*, a town; and then Baal-bek would be a literal translation of the name Ἡλιόπολις.

135. See *Jablonsky's* Panth. Egypt. Part I. p. 163.

136. בַּעַלִּית. Comp. *Michaelis*' Supplemm. p. 199.

137. See *Iken*, loc. cit. and *Volney*, II. p. 182.

138. *Otto von Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 81, et seqq.

139. For the most complete description and finest views of Baalbek, as of Palmyra, (see note 127), we are indebted to the English travellers, *Wood* and *Dawkins*, in the work: The Ruins of Baalbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelo-Syria, with a Journal from Palmyra to Baalbec, London, 1757, large fol. Interesting views of some of these ruins will likewise be found in *Cassas'* Pittoresque de la Syrie. Comp. *Volney*, Vol. II. p. 282. [His words are: "Baalbec, celebrated by the Greeks and Latins, under the name

of *Heliopolis*, or the City of the Sun, is situated at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, precisely on the last rising ground where the mountain terminates in the plain. As we arrive from the south we discover the city at the distance of only a league and a half, behind a hedge of trees, over the verdant tops of which appears a white edging of domes and minarets. After an hour's journey we reached these trees, which are very fine walnuts; and soon after, crossing some ill cultivated gardens, by winding paths, arrived at the entrance of the city. We there perceive a ruined wall, flanked with square towers, which ascends the declivity to the right, and trace the precincts of the ancient city. This wall is only ten or twelve feet high, and permits us to have a view of those void spaces, and heaps of ruins, which are the invariable appendage of every Turkish city; but what principally attracts our attention, is a large edifice on the left, which, by its lofty walls and rich columns, manifestly appears to be one of those temples which antiquity has left for our admiration."]

140. Loc. cit. p. 86.

141. דרמשק, דרמשק (in the Books of Chronicles),
 دمشق. Ita vocata, says *Simonis Ono-*
mast. V. T. p. 439, ex ארם *rubuit*. Arab. دمر
rubrum fecit, et ex סמק Chald. et Syr. *rubuit* Arab.
 transpositis literis مشق in II. Conjug. *tinxit terrā*
rubrā, unde مشق⁵⁰ terra *rubra*. *Rubere* enim
 agrum Damascenum, ex quo creatus est *Adannus*, com-
 munis est traditio. *Volney* says: (Travels, Vol. II.

p. 270.) " In other respects, the soil, which is poor, gravelly, and of a reddish colour, is ill adapted for corn, but is on that account more suitable to fruits, which are here excellently flavoured." Mountains of red ferruginous rock were likewise observed near Damascus by *Otto von Richter*, p. 685.

142. الشام.

143. Properly speaking they confine this designation to the vale of Gutah (القوطة), near Damascus. The three other paradises are the Valley of Bawan, the river Obollah, and Sogd, near Samarcand. See *D'Herbelot's* Biblioth. Oriental. under " Gennah;" *Abulfeda's* Syria, p. 100; *Golius* on Alfargani, p. 120, 174, 178; and *Schultens' Index Geogr.* under " Damascus."

144. See *Schulz. Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 423. *Otto von Richter*, p. 137.

145. בן־חזר, i. e. *the Son of Hadad*. The name Hadad probably denoted a Syro-Phœnician idol, which *Macrobius*, (Saturnal. Lib. I. cap. 23,) calls Adad, explaining it as signifying "the Sun." Comp. *Gesenius* in the Halle Encyclopædia. Part I. p. 257, under " Adad."

146. Comp. *J. G. Heyne de Ethnarcha Aretæ, Arabum regis, Paulo Apostolo insidiante* Dissert. I. II. Wittenberg, 1755, 4to.

147. See *Eckhel's Doctrina Numor. veter.* Vol. III. p. 331.

148. See *Kantemir's Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 235 of the Ger. Transl.*

* The author was Prince of Moldavia. There is an Eng.

149. Wallfahrten, p. 138, 149, 151.

150. Comp. *Pococke's Descript. of the East.* Part II. p. 174.

151. ^والمرج, ^والغوطة. The former of these names signifies, *a level valley*. *J. D. Michaelis* is of opinion, (in his *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebræor. Exter.*, Part II. p. 126,) that the land of Uz mentioned in the Book of Job, was the Damascene valley of Gutah.* But see the Prolegomena to *Rosenmüller's Scholia* on Job, p. 29, of the second edition.

152. Burckhardt, p. 446.

153. חֻבָּה: from חָבַה, to hide one's self; thus seeming to denote *a hiding-place, a lurking-hole*.

154. In *Locis Hebraicis in Genesi*.

155. *Oriental Travels*, p. 584.

156. *Büsching*, (*Geogr. of Asia*, p. 368 of the third edit.) mentions a place Yobar, to the north of Damascus, which he takes for the Hobah of Scripture. On the other hand, *Reland* (*Palæst.* p. 727,) thinks of a castle called Caucab, (كَوْكَب) mentioned by Edrisi as being on the Lake of Tiberias. See

Translation by *Tindal*, the Continuator of *Rapin*. Lond. 1734, fol.—*M*.

* The sentiment in question is also that of *Bochart* in *Phaleg. Lib. II. Cap. viii.*, and of *Ilgen* on Job. One of *Rosenmüller's* reasons for rejecting it is, that the name غوطة is in Arabic a common appellative for vallies, being derived from غاط *demersa fuit res*; whence غايط, the plural of which is غوط, *terra oava depressiorque*. But this seems a very futile objection.—*M*.

Schultens in his *Index Geograph.* under “Caucheba.”

157. בית ערן.

158. See *Schulz* *Leitungen des Höchstens.* Part V. p. 458. *Korte's Trav.* p. 321. *Burckhardt*, p. 66 and 492.

159. *Voyage de Syrie*, Part I. p. 195.

160. بيت الجنة. See *Burckhardt*, p. 100.

161. בארתי, probably synonymous with ברותי, *a well*.*

162. *Observations on the East.* Part II. p. 210.

163. ברותה.

164. بیروت. So *Michaelis' Supplem. ad Lexx.* p. 232. But, on the other hand, see *Hase* *Reg. David, et Solomon*, p. 261.

165. *Antiqq.* V. 1, 8.

166. As is assumed by *Bachiene.* *Descript. of Palestine*, Part II. § 747.

167. כִּיּוֹן, in *Amos* v. 26, denotes the planet Saturn, like the Arabic كَيَوَان, whence *J. D. Michaelis* (*loc. cit.* p. 1225,) would pronounce the Hebrew name כִּיּוֹן. And he therefore conjectures, (p. 1233,) that in *1 Chron.* xviii. 8, we should read כִּיּוֹן, a word of much the same meaning as כִּיּוֹן, Saturn. He then supposes the place mentioned in *1 Chron.* xviii. 8, to have been the same as ברותי, (which, as he thinks,

* Beeroth, בארות, was a town of Benjamin; בארתי,

Beerothit, *2 Sam.* iv. 2, 3. *1 Chron.* ii. 39.—M.

was Berytus;) because, according to a tradition related by *Stephanus de Urbibus*, p. 164, that city was built by Saturn.—בֶּרְיֹוט, as the name of a town, would thus be equivalent to Saturnia, Saturnopolis. But we have shewn above, the improbability of בְּרֹוּתִי having been Berytus, and it is no less precarious to change בֶּרְיֹוט into בֶּרְיֹוט. *Hase* seems much nearer the truth when he says, (loc. cit. p. 260:)—*Con nulla alia urbs est, quam Conna, in Itinerario Antonini memorata media inter Laodiceam et Heliopolim in jugo ipso Libani montis, et prope transitum Eleutheri fluvii. Magni adeo momenti locus, et transitum custodiens, unde non mirum, quod congesta magna armorum aerisque copia eum Hadad-Ezer munierit, quae tota praedae Davidi cessit.*

168. בִּשְׁחָ.

169. מִבְּחָת. *Hase*, (loc. cit. p. 263,) thinks this a corruption of תַּפְסָחָ. See above at note 106.

170. סְבָרִים, the Dual of סֶבֶר *hope*, (in Chaldee.) *Simonis* in his *Onomastic*. V. T. p. 176, explains the name by *spes et fiducia* incolarum.

171. זֶפְרָן, from זָפַר to scent, hence זָפַר a fragrant garden.

172. חֲצֵר עֵינָן, i. e. the court of a fountain.

173. צֶדֶד. צֶדֶד means the side of a hill. Perhaps the place had its name from lying on one of the slopes or ridges of Lebanon.

174. In his *Comment. on Ezek. xlvii. 15.*

175. חצר התיכון.

176. חתלון. *Simonis*, (loc. cit. p. 338,) explains it by involutio, tectio tuta, latibulum, ex Hebr.

חתל^{סו} involvit, Arab. ختل tegmen, involucrum, latibulum.

177. חילם, חילאם, i. e. according to *Simonis*, (p. 360,) a great host; perhaps more correctly a stronghold. *J. D. Michaelis*, (Suppl. p. 739,) looking to the Chaldee חילא explains it, "the valley or plain of Am." *Comp. Commentat. de bello Nesibeni*, p. 111. *Hase*, (loc. cit. p. 262,) says: Occurrit inter loca Palmyrenae ditionis ultra ipsam illam urbem versus Euphratem *Cholle* in tabula Peutingeriana. In 2 Sam. x. 16, Luther incorrectly took חילם for the appellative חיל, with the suffix, and translated the words ויבאי חילם, "and they brought in their host." But, at v. 17, he renders properly ויבא חילאמה, "and came to Helam."

178. *Anton Aryda*, (انطون عريضه) in the second of his Arabic Dialogues in *Jahn's Arabic Chrestomathy*, p. 249. *Comp. Niebuhr's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 424.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME SECOND.

No. I.—*Masúdi on the Site and History of Babel.*—(Comp. p. 1—27.)

THE following are Extracts from the General History of *Masúdi*, an early Mahomedan historian :—

“ The Fârat then flows on to Rakkah, to Rakkah, Hit, and Ambâr, at which point several canals are divided from the river ; as, for instance, the canal of Isâ, which, after passing beyond Baghdad, falls into the Diglah. It then winds towards the sites of Sûrâ, Kasr ebn Hobairah, Kûfah, Jâmiain, Ahmedabad, Albirs, and the mounds, &c. &c. Many of the most able and distinguished historians are of opinion that the first kings of Bâbil were those pristine monarchs of the world who first settled and civilized mankind, and that the first race of Persian potentates were their successors by conquest, as the empire of Rome increased on the subjection of the Greeks. They maintained, that the first of these Princes of Bâbil was Nemroûd the Mighty, whom they suppose to have reigned during sixty years, and to whom they attribute the excavation of the canals, in the province of Irâq, derived from the stream of the Farât. One of these is the celebrated canal of Kûthâ, on the road to Kûfah, between Kasr ebn Habairah and Bagh-

dad. The capital of the kingdom of Aferaidún was Bâbil, which is one of the climates of the earth, so designated from the name proper to one of its towns. This town is situated on both banks of one of the canals derived from the Farât, in the province of Irâq, distant an hour's journey from the city named Jisr. i. Bâbil and the canal of Albirs; from which last named town the produce of the Birsæan looms, the cloths of Birs, derive their appellation. Near the town of Bâbil is an excavation usually known as the well of the prophet Daniel, which is much frequented both by Jews and Christians, on certain anniversary festivals peculiar to each sect. Any individual visiting this town cannot but be struck by the amazing mass of ruined structures thrown together in scarcely distinguishable heaps. The opinion is very prevalent that these are Hârût and Mârût, the angels mentioned in the Koran, in the passage which marks the fate and designation of Bâbil."

No. II.—*Mignan's Account of the Ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia* [E]-Madâîn] (Comp. p. 31, 95—98).—The site of these once celebrated cities was visited in 1827 by Captain Robert Mignan, who gives the following description (Travels in Chaldea. Lond. 1829, p. 69, et seq.):—"I crossed over to the right, or eastern bank [of the Tigris], when I was on the site of Ctesiphon; and immediately observed mounds, superficially covered with the same fragments and materials as I have already mentioned in describing those hillocks I had hitherto met with. This spot is called by the natives the 'Garden of Kisra.' The first mound, which was composed of furnace-burnt bricks as a foundation, and sun-dried, mixed up with chopped straw, for the superstructure, one course separated from another by irregular layers of reeds, extended from the bank of the river, in a northerly direction, for seven hundred and fifty feet; its height and thickness varied from thirty to thirty-six feet. The elevation of the wall that edged from out this mound, on the margin of the bank, was forty feet. It then formed an angle, and stretched away north-west for eight hundred yards, when there was a breach, or gap, one

hundred and thirty-five feet wide, probably once occupied by some grand gate of entrance. The wall, or rampart line, then recommences, and runs on the same bearings for seven hundred and fifty yards more, when we came to another break, which appeared to be the bed of a canal, as the stratum or channel, varied from fifteen to twenty feet deep, the breadth being one hundred and fifty yards, and therefore capable of admitting a very large body of water. The direction of the dry bed of this channel was north-east, and appeared to extend to an unbroken ridge of mounds running north-west and south-east at the distance of eight or nine miles. The high wall, already followed, embraces an extensive area, where no vestiges of former buildings exist, and runs to the verge of the river. Its summit and sides are covered with the remains of ancient building ; and it is astonishing, that, after the lapse of so many centuries, these walls appear to have lost nothing of their regular construction. From the bed of the canal, and a quarter of a mile to the north-west, over a space marked by memorials of the past, interspersed with patches of the camel thorn, stands the *Tauk Kesra*, a magnificent monument of antiquity, surprising the spectator with the perfect state of its preservation, after having braved the warring elements for so many ages ; without an emblem to throw any light upon its history ; without proof, or character to be traced on any brick or wall. This stupendous, stately fragment of ages long since forgot, is built of fine furnace-burnt bricks, each measuring twelve inches square by two and three quarters thick, and coated with cement. The full extent of the front, or eastern face, is three hundred feet. It is divided by a high semicircular arch, supported by walls sixteen feet thick, the arch itself making a span of eighty-six feet, and rising to the height of one hundred and three feet. The front of the building is ornamented and surmounted by four rows of small arched recesses, resembling in form the large one. The style and execution of these are most delicate, evincing a fertile invention and great experience in the architectural art. From the vestibule a hall extends to the depth of one hundred and fifty-six feet east and

west, where a wall forms the back of the building, a great portion of which, together with part of the roof, is broken down. In the centre of the wall, or western face of the structure, a doorway, measuring twenty-four feet high by twelve wide, leads to a contiguous heap of mounds, extending to the bank of the river, about a quarter of a mile distant. The general shape of these hillocks is elliptical, and their circumference two miles. To the right are fragments of walls, and broken masses of brickwork; to the left, and therefore to the south of the arch, are the remains of vast structures, which, though encumbered with heaps of earth, are yet sufficiently visible to fill the mind of the spectator with astonishment, at the thought that the destroying hand of Time could have failed in entirely concealing, from the inquiring eye, these wrecks of remote antiquity.^a I dug into the sides and bases of many of these mounds. Their foundations were invariably composed of the fire-burnt brick, while the sun-burnt formed the exterior or higher mass of each heap. I had the satisfaction of discovering a silver coin of one of the Parthian kings, a brass coin of Seleucus Nicator, and three talismanic perforated cylinders, which differ in no respect from the Babylonian. All are in an equally perfect state. There is no doubt that the natives often pick up coins of gold, silver, and copper, for which they always find a ready sale in Bagdad. Indeed, some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German Consuls, hire people to go in search of coins, medals, and antique gems; and I am assured they never return to their employers empty-handed. . . . Having examined the remains of Ctesiphon, I crossed over to the site of the once magnificent and populous Greek city, and at every step had new occasion to muse upon the scene of desolation which presented itself, as far as the eye could reach. Time, violence, and repeated inundations have levelled every thing. I looked

^a The natives of this country assert, that the ruins are of the age of Nimrod. A celebrated antiquary, M. de Brosses, one of the Presidents of the Royal Academy in Paris, supposes that Calneh stood on the site of Ctesiphon.—*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale*, tom. xxvii. p. 31.

in vain for monuments, pillars, aqueducts, and buildings. Bricks of every kind, mixed up with layers of straw ; varnished tiles, and pottery of every colour (the predominant one being blue) ; stones calcareous, sandy, and granite ; flint-glass, shells, and a variety of vitreous and nitrous substances ; these, and these alone, compose what remains of the once magnificent Seleucia. There is not a single entire building ; nothing but a small remnant of a wall and a few portions of decayed brick-work, is left to mark the foot of the spoiler, and bid us mourn in silence and solitude over fallen and departed grandeur. The traveller ought to visit Seleucia, previous to passing over to Ctesiphon ; by so doing, he will not expect to meet with any thing half so grand as the arch which rivets him to the spot, which, in this part of the world, in point of architectural beauty, is perfectly unique. This structure I surveyed first, so ardent was my solicitude to reach the porch of the building, after having caught a glimpse of it the evening before. With a mind full of its beauties, I passed on to Seleucia ; and there being no building, not even the fragment of one visible, I experienced, I must confess, great grief and disappointment. It is, however, surprising, that so much is still left to mark the sites of these once great cities, situated as they are in a country that is inundated for so many months in the season. Even at this moment, which is the driest time of the whole year, there are pools of water inhabited by large flocks of bitterns ; and herbage is scattered over the plain ; but on the site of Ctesiphon, the smallest insect under heaven would not find a single blade of grass wherein to hide itself, nor one drop of water to allay its thirst."

With this account the reader may compare that of *Rich*, in his work on Kourdistan, vol. ii. p. 395, 404, et seqq., or our foot-note at p. 98 of the present volume.

No. III.—*Oriental Traditions respecting Nimrod*, from D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, (Comp. p. 40, 104—107 :

" Les Arabes disent, que ce mot signifie la même chose que *Mared* ; c'est à dire, un rebelle et un revolté, nom qui convient fort bien à celui qui fut l'auteur de la première revolte

des hommes contre Dieu, par la structure qu'il entreprit de la Tour de Babel, et c'est celui que nous appelons Nembrod. Selon le *Tarikh Montokheb*, le Nembrod des Hebreux est le même que le Zhohac des Persiens, roy de la première dynastie des princes qui ont régné dans le monde depuis le déluge. Mais, selon l'auteur du *Mefatih alôloun*, Nembrod est le même que Caïcaous, second roy de la seconde dynastie de Perse, nommée des Caïanides. Ce même auteur donne au mot de Nemrod, ou Nemroud, une étymologie Persienne, à sçavoir, Nemurd, qui signifie celui qui ne mourt point ; et il dit, que ce surnom d'Immortel fut donné à Caïcaous, à cause des longues années qu'il regna. Car tous les Historiens de Perse le font regner plus de cent cinquante ans. Mirkhoud, dans son *Raoudhat Alsafa*, écrit conformément au sentiment de cet auteur que nous venons d'alléguer, que l'on a imputé à Caïcaous la folie de vouloir escalader le Ciel, ce qui convient assez bien avec le dessein extravagant de Nemrod et des autres constructeurs de la Tour de Babel, de la manière qu'il est couché dans les livres saints. Mais ce même auteur ajoute, qu'il n'y a guères d'apparence, que Caïcaous, qui a passé pour un Prince fort sage entre les Persans, ait eu une telle pensée. Car pour monter au Ciel, poursuit Mirkhoud, parlant en bon Musulman, il faudroit être monté sur un Al Borac, et conduit par Gabriel, ce qui étoit réservé par un privilege singulier à Mahomet. L'auteur du *Lebtarikh* dit, que Nemrod étoit Ben Kenâan, Ben Kham ; c'est à dire, fils de Chanaan et petit fils de Cham, fils de Noé, et qu'il étoit frère de Cous, surnommé en Persien Fil Dendan ; c'est à dire, Dent d'Elephant. Ce Cous, ou Caous, pourroit être Chus, fils de Chanaan, dont parle l'Ecriture, et duquel sont descendus les Abissins ou Ethiopiens, que les Juifs appellent encore aujourd'hui Conschûm. L'auteur du livre intitulé *Mâlern* fait le récit fabuleux d'une Histoire, de laquelle il prend Ali pour garant, dans les termes qui suivent. Nemrod ayant fait jetter Abraham, qui refusoit de le reconnoître pour le souverain Maître et le Dieu du Monde, dans une fournaise ardente, surpris de l'en voir sortir sans avoir souffert la moindre atteinte du feu, dit à ses courtisans : ' Je

veux aller au Ciel pour y voir ce Dieu si puissant qu'Abraham nous prêche.' Ces gens luy ayent représenté, que le Ciel étoit bien haut, et qu'il n'étoit pas facile d'y arriver, Nemrod ne se rendit point à leurs avis, et commanda en même tems, que l'on bâtît une tour la plus élevée qu'il se pourroit. On travailla trois ans entiers à ce bâtiment; et Nemrod étant monté jusqu'au plus haut, fut bien étonné, en regardant le Ciel, de le voir encore aussi éloigné de luy, que s'il ne s'en fut pas approché. Mais ce qui luy causa et donna plus de confusion, fut d'apprendre le lendemain, que cette haute tour avoit été renversée. Nemrod ne fut point rebuté cependant par un accident si étrange, et voulut que l'on rebâtît une autre plus forte et plus haute. Mais cette seconde tour eut le même destin que la première, ce qui fit prendre à cet insensé le dessein ridicule de se faire porter jusqu'au Ciel dans un coffre, tiré par quatre de ces oiseaux monstrueux, nommez Kerkes, dont les anciens auteurs de l'Orient font mention dans leurs romans. Le même auteur décrit exactement cette machine, de quelle manière ces oiseaux y étoient attachez, et dit enfin, que Nembrod s'étant aperçu de l'inutilité de son projet, après avoir erré et volé quelque tems par les airs, plongea si rudement en terre que la montagne ou ces oiseaux le jetterent, en fut ébranlée, suivant ce qui est porté dans l'Alcoran au chapitre intitulé Ibrahim, v. en kair mekrhom letezoul menho algebab; c'est à dire, *les machines et les stratagèmes des impiés, vont jusqu'à faire trembler les montagnes*. Nembrod, après avoir vû échouer une entreprise téméraire, et ne pouvant faire la guerre à Dieu même en personne, comme il avoit projeté, au lieu de reconnoître la puissance de ce souverain Maître et d'adorer son unité, persista toujours dans le sentiment impie qu'il avoit de luy même, et continua à maltraiter tous ceux qui adoroient une autre divinité que luy dans ses états. C'est ce qui fit que Dieu luy ôta, par la division et par la confusion des langues, la plus grande partie de ses sujets, et punit ceux qui demeurèrent attachez à luy, par une nuée de moucherons qui les fit presque tous perir, selon le rapport de Demiathi. L'auteur du Lebab

ajoute, qu'un de ces mouchérons étant entré par les narines de Nembrod, penetra jusqu'à une des membranes de son cerveau, où grossissant de jour en jour, il luy causa une si grande douleur, qu'il étoit obligé de se faire battre le tête avec un maillet, pour pouvoir prendre quelque repos, et qu'il souffrit ce supplice pendant l'espace de quatre cent ans, Dieu voulant punir par la plus petite de ses créatures, celui qui se vantoit insolemment d'être le Maître de tout. Ebn Batrik dit que Nembrod étoit Mage et Sabien de religion, et que ce fut luy qui établit le premier le culte et l'adoration de feu. Il y a des historiens qui appellent les plus anciens rois des Babylonniens, qui ont succédé à Nembrod, Nemared ; c'est à dire, les Nembrodiens. Car ce mot de Nemared est pluriel Arabe de Nembrod, et signifie aussi dans la même langue des rebelles et des tyrans."—D'Herbelot, tom. iii. p. 32.

No. IV.—*Klaproth on the Kurds*.—(Comp. p. 120, 139), Julius Klaproth thus speaks of them :—"The Kurds and their language constitute the fourth grand division of the Indo-Germanic family. They inhabit Kurdistan, several provinces in the west and north of Persia, and are scattered through Mesopotamia, Syria, and the eastern districts of Asia Minor. They call themselves Kurds or Kurdmandji, which seems to be derived from the Persian root *kurd*, "strong, brave,"—a root likewise found in the Slavonic *gord* "proud," and in the Georgian, *kurd* a robber. Their language, which has a close affinity to the Persian in the vocabulary and grammar, contains many Shemitic words, which they have borrowed from their neighbours the Syrians and Chaldeans." He then gives a list of Kurdish words which he had collected at Awlabari, a suburb of Tiflis, which is partly inhabited by Kurds.^a—*Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta* (Paris, 1823, 4to.), p. 75, et seq.

No. V.—*Rich's Account of the Ruins of Nineveh*.—The following are the scattered notices given in his work on Koordis-

^a Rich has likewise given a Kurdish vocabulary, between which and Klaproth's, however, there is considerable discrepancy.

tan, vol. ii :—" At twenty minutes to ten we came to a large rampart, then to a hollow like a ditch, and then to another rampart, which my Mousul Turks called the beginning of Nineveh ; and shortly after we reached another ditch and wall which seemed to indicate that Nineveh had a double wall. Under or in this second wall is a spring or well covered over with an arch of very ancient masonry, composed of large stones. The well is called Damlamajeh, and the inhabitants believe its water is efficacious in many complaints, not from its medicinal qualities, but from some superstition connected with it. I remained ten minutes at the well, and then rode on, passing through the area of Nineveh, under the village of Nebbi Yunus on our left hand. The walls of Nineveh on the east have become quite a concretion of pebbles, like the natural hills. At twenty-five minutes past ten we arrived at the banks of the Tigris, where we were ferried over to our place of residence during our stay at Mousul.—p. 26.

We first went to the village or little town of Nebbi Yunus, which contains about three hundred houses, and is built on an ancient artificial mount, the whole of which it does not cover. Its antiquity is well ascertained by the remains found on digging into it very deep ; when fragments of bricks, whole bricks, and pieces of gypsum, covered with inscriptions, in the cuneiform character are found. I have many of these, one in particular which measures one foot four inches in thickness, covered with writing, that was dug up in this mound ;^a and to-day we were shewn some fragments built up in the foundations of houses. One of these, a broken piece of gypsum, with cuneiform characters, was in the kitchen of a wretched house, and appeared to be part of the wall of a small passage which is said to reach far into the mount. Some people dug into it last year ; but as it went under the houses, and they were afraid of undermining them, they closed it up again with rubbish, and only that portion of it which had been laid open, and forms part of a kitchen, is now visible. A little farther on, in a small room occupied

^a Now in the British Museum.

by the women of an inhabitant of the town, who very politely went out to allow us to inspect it at our leisure, was another inscription in very large cuneiform letters, on a piece of gypsum. It faces south, and runs east and west. Only about three feet of it are now open, though it is said to extend several yards west; and it has since been plastered over with mud. This inscription is the more curious, as it seems to occupy its original position. It is not much above the floor of the room,—is about two feet high, and below the level of the surface of the mound. The cuneiform characters are in their proper position. (P. 30, 31.)

From this we went to the mosque, which covers the tomb of Jonah;^a it is on the north and higher end of the mound, and is rather a considerable building. The principal dome is ribbed and of a conical shape; it stands on an octagonal base, eight feet each face: which is again placed on a square pediment, standing on the terrace that covers the building. The dome is of small circumference, whitened and crowned with a spike. The terrace, or flat roof, is about fifteen feet above the level of the mound on the south side, but on the north it rises forty feet, by measurement, above the mound; about thirty feet perpendicular height of which remains between the foot of the wall and level or plain of Nineveh; so that the perpendicular height of the highest part of the mound above the level of the plain is about fifty feet. There are several other domes, but they are semicircular and rise very little above the terrace. On the east side of the court of the mosque we were shown three very narrow ancient passages, one within the other, with several doors or apertures opening one into the other, which reminded me of the interior plan of the Zendan

^a There was formerly a Christian monastery where the pretended tomb of Jonah now stands, the Mahometan building being erected over the church, which is preserved entire; but no Christian, on any account, would be suffered to go near it. The Christians named their church after the tradition that Jonah preached in that place; but they deny his having been buried there. They believe, on the contrary, that after his mission was accomplished, he returned to Palestine.

at Dastagerda.* The passages are quite dark, narrow, and vaulted, and appear much as if designed for the reception of dead bodies. They are said to be very ancient ; but of what age none of our conductors could specify ; and they extended much farther, but they have been stopped up.

We afterwards rode through the area of Nineveh to the first wall of the inclosure. It is a line of earth and gravel, out of which large hewn stones are dug, as out of all the walls of the area. Beyond this is a ditch still very regular, and easily traceable ; on the other side of which is another wall. Under this wall is the well of Damlamajeh, noticed before ; and beyond it having only a narrow ravine or ditch, there is still another, and, I believe, the largest wall.

The area of Nineveh, on a rough guess, is about one and a half to two miles broad, and four miles long ; extending a little way south of Nebbi Yunus. On the river or west side there are only remains of one wall ; and I observed the same at the north and south extremities, but on the east side there are the remains of three walls.

In this place, I cannot help remarking a passage in Jonah ; that prophet suffered grievously from the easterly wind. This is the *sherki* so much dreaded in all these countries, which is hot, stormy, and singularly relaxing and dispiriting. (p. 32-35.)

We also saw, in many parts, a flooring or pavement, on the surface of the mount of small stones, rammed down with earth. Pottery we also found, and other Babylonian fragments ; also bits of brick with bitumen adhering to them ; and I am informed that many bricks with bitumen are found in these ruins. A piece of fine brick or pottery, covered with exceedingly small and beautiful cuneiform writing, was found while we were looking about the mount. It is of the finest kind, yellowish, with a polished or hard surface, and apparently belonged to one of the largest cylinders.

* See Journal of an Excursion to the Frontiers of S. Koordistan.

On the south side or face of the inclosure there are openings, the centre one of which, at least, seems to have been part of the original plan. A few yards from it, on the *outside* of the wall, near the Karakooah road, my attention was called to a very curious object, seemingly of the remotest antiquity. Some people had been digging for stones, and had dug a hole in the ground, from which they had turned up many large hewn stones with bitumen adhering to them. I examined the excavation, which was about ten feet deep; and found it consisted of huge stones, laid in layers of bitumen and lime-mortar. I brought away some specimens of them sticking together. I also saw some layers of red clay, which were very thick, and had become as indurated as burnt brick; but there was not the least appearance of reeds or straw ever having been used. This mass appeared to have been a foundation or substructure. We found among the rubbish some pieces of coarse unglazed pottery. It would not have been possible to tell, from the appearance of the surface of the ground, that there had been building beneath—a water-course, full of pebbles, had even passed over it.

It is, therefore, very difficult to say to what an extent vestiges of building may exist outside the inclosures, the area of which may have been the royal quarter, but certainly was never sufficient for the city of Nineveh.

The vestiges or traces of building within the area are, with the exception of Nebbi Yunus and Koyunjuk, extremely slight; and I am now confirmed in the opinion I formed in viewing the ruins many years ago, that the inclosure formed only a part of the great city, probably either the citadel or royal precincts; or perhaps both, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign is of very ancient origin. In the east, to this day, the dwelling of the prince, and, indeed, of many governors, consists of a number of buildings inclosed in quite a separate quarter; and, from what we are told of the Babylonian palaces, and see of that of the Sefviyahs, and of the Sultan of Constantinople, this extent would not be too much

to assign for the residence of the Assyrian kings.* (P. 37—44.)

No. VI.—*Wood and Volney on the Ruins of Palmyra.*—

“About noon,” says Wood, “we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills seemed to meet. We find between these hills a vale, through which an aqueduct (now ruined) formerly conveyed water to Palmyra. In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which, upon a nearer approach, we found were the sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrenes. We had scarce passed these venerable monuments, than the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen; and, behind them, towards the Euphrates, a flat waste as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view. So great a number of Corinthian pillars, with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect.” Upon this Volney remarks:—

“Undoubtedly the effect of such a sight is not to be communicated. To have a just conception of the whole, the dimensions must be supplied by the imagination. This narrow space must be considered as a vast plain; those minute shafts as columns whose base alone exceeds the height of a man. The reader must represent to himself that range of erect columns, as occupying an extent of more than twenty-six hundred yards, and concealing a multitude of other edifices behind them. In this space we sometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the courts and walls; sometimes a temple, whose peristyle is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here stand groups of columns, whose

* Rich follows the common tradition, in identifying these ruins with Nineveh. Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, however, thinks they belong to a city built in after ages.

symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them : there we see them ranged in rows of such length, that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight, and assume the appearance of continued walls. If, from this striking scene, we cast our eyes upon the ground, another almost as varied presents itself: on all sides we behold nothing but subverted shafts, some whole, others shattered to pieces, or dislocated in their joints; and, on which side soever we look, the earth is strewed with vast stones, half buried; with broken entablatures, damaged capitals, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by dust."—*Volney's Travels*, Eng. Trans. Vol. ii. p. 281.

No. VII.—*Barker's Tour in Syria*—One of the most recent travellers in this interesting country is Mr. Barker, son of the late British Consul at Alexandria. An account of his journey was read at a meeting of the London Geographical Society on the 23d January 1837, and will probably appear in the next volume of their Transactions. He travelled through Syria in the year 1835, his rout being from Beirout to Batroun, across Mount Lebanon to Baalbek, and thence to the source of the Orontes; he returned by Ainnete to Tripoli, and journeyed along the coast to the northward as far as Souwedia, the port of Antioch. He thus speaks of the scenery on Lebanon:—"On the road to Bshirrai is the most magnificent scenery imaginable; the poplar, the walnut, and the weeping willow form a mass of foliage which presents a striking contrast to the barren rocks which rise immediately above; abundance of water streams in every direction, and exuberant vegetation denotes the fertility of the soil,—while before you the dark cedars, o'er-topped by the lofty Lebanon, its summits reaching the limits of perpetual snow, combine to form a scene which it rarely falls to the lot of a traveller to gaze upon." . . . Quitting

a See the present volume, p. 210—215. Barker estimated the number of cedars at about 600, which, of course, included trees of all sizes; for of the venerable grove of ancient cedars, Richardson (in 1818) and De Lamartine (in 1832) found only seven remaining.

the cedar forest, by an abrupt ascent, in an hour and a half I reached the limit of perpetual snow ; and, descending on the other side, arrived in six hours at Deir el Ahmár, where the plain begins, at whose eastern extremity, and at the foot of Anti-Libanus, stand the ruins of Baalbek ; here are evident traces of the building of Solomon beneath the superstructure of the Romans."

Mr. Barker is, perhaps, the first European who has visited the source of the Orontes. "It is distant about thirty miles to the north-east of Baalbek, and is a spot little known, and visited by few, if any, European travellers, chiefly owing to the danger attending it. But, being well acquainted with the native language, I trusted myself to a guide of the Metuali tribe, notorious as robbers, and for their hatred of all sects which differ from them in religion. Proceeding on a plain in an E.N.E. direction, along the foot of Anti-Libanus, in six hours I reached the village of Labroe, perched on a small hill, round the base of which runs a stream, which eventually falls into the Orontes. Six hours more to the eastward stands Fichi, beautifully situated at the foot of Anti-Libanus ; and at Ras, a village at the extremity of the range, we leave the hills and incline more to the N.E. across the plain to the river of Labroe, which I reached in three hours. A ride of two hours along its banks brings you to the source of the Orontes, which gushes with violence from a rocky basin of a triangular form, measuring about fifty paces on each side, but so overgrown with a dense mass of foliage of oak, chestnut and willow, that it is almost concealed from view ; the spring forms at once a considerable stream, and, from the many windings it takes in its northerly course, its occasional violence and frequent inundations has obtained from the natives the name of Aaszi, or "the rebel."^a

^a See the present volume, p. 217, and comp. the Athenæum for 1837, p. 65.



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